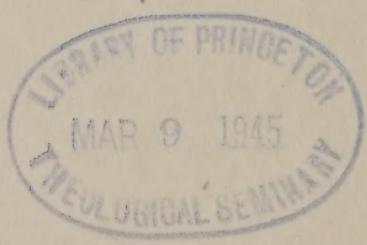

THE
**ALCOHOL
QUESTION**

Norma C. Brown

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The **ALCOHOL QUESTION**

By Norma C. Brown



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To

OLIVER W. STEWART

Who gave all to the Great Reform

*And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when some lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.*

—Edwin Markham.

PREFACE

Some five years ago I agreed to prepare a series of lessons on the alcohol problem, so conceived and constructed that, in addition to whatever other groups they might serve, Church schools might offer them as an optional course to be covered in one quarter. All too lightly I agreed, not so much from desire to do it as from conviction that it needed to be done.

Writing and research were completed during intensive temperance and prohibition campaigns in which I carried a heavy daily speaking schedule, attended by constant travel over an area stretching north to Minnesota and North Dakota, east to Ohio, and west and south to California.

I am indebted to more public libraries and small colleges along the way than it is possible to list. I am especially thankful to the public libraries of Chicago, Los Angeles, and Bloomington (Illinois) and the libraries of the University of Illinois, the University of Southern California and Monmouth College for generous assistance and unlimited use of their facilities. I have also to thank my good friends, Mr. W. G. Calderwood and Dr. George D. Haggard, both of Minneapolis, who read most of the manuscript and offered valuable suggestions.

Readers will observe many omissions. In discarded pages were data the gathering of which represented many weeks of work. Even footnotes and bibliography have shared the ruthless surgery to which the whole manuscript has been subjected. It is hard to leave controverted positions slightly supported when a wealth of testimony is at hand to sustain them. But the publishers insist upon brevity.

I trust the book may inspire a serious study of the problem with a resulting concern for its solution. For I am convinced that when concern cuts deeply enough, solution will be forthcoming.

Acknowledgment is due the following publishers for special permission to quote from their publications, as indicated:

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Harper and Brothers, New York. Bruere: *Does Prohibition Work?*

Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. Cabot: *A Layman's Handbook of Medicine*.

Longman's Green and Co., New York. Starling: *Action of Alcohol on Man*.

The Macmillan Company, New York. Emerson (Editor): *Alcohol and Man*.

Physiological Reviews: Baltimore.

The Ronald Press, New York. Nystrom: *Economic Principles of Consumption*.

Willett, Clark and Company, Chicago. Dobyns: *The Amazing Story of Repeal*.

NORMA C. BROWN.

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INTRODUCTION

Charting the course is an ancient practice, never more honored than today. Though contemporary man is rootless, he is not a real nomad. He fares forth in all directions, faster and farther than ever; but he goes clutching a map and is near panic if he misses a road sign. Mature civilization goes hard with the spirit of adventure. Yet now and again comes some modern in whom the old daring flares no less than in legendary knights, conquerors of continents or builders of empires.

He may be a Byrd who defies the frozen wastes, or an Einstein who penetrates scientific and mathematical jungles. One wonders whether such adventurers are less dependent upon guideposts or merely discern directions where others see only battered signs too unreliable to follow.

Be that as it may, we who pretend to no genius must start every excursion by inquiring why the journey and what the landmarks en route. We are only running true to form if, as we begin this study of the alcohol problem, we ask what justifies its injection into the field of Christian education. The answer will depend no more upon the nature of these lessons than upon the broader purpose of Christian education and, most of all, at last, upon the common ground on which they meet.

Writing of all education, a brilliant contemporary says its function is "to teach us to think intensively, critically, and imaginatively."* This conception is as stimulating as its complete attainment is remote.

* Abba Hillel Silver in *Religion in a Changing World*.

Intensity of thought calls for concentration. It demands ability first to isolate the question under study that we may grasp its inherent and independent meaning; thereafter, to see it interwoven in the intricate pattern of life, without losing its distinctive color and texture.

Critical thinking will painstakingly discard every old prejudice, every hasty conclusion in which a superficial brilliance has hidden the hollowness, every cherished half-fact, every conviction upon which we cannot safely turn "that fierce light that . . . blackens every blot."

Imaginative thinking will penetrate any subject with the insight of the seer. It will follow its quest to the frontiers of spiritual potentiality. It will loose powers of correlation revealing the problem under scrutiny not only in the panorama of today, but in the dream-scape of tomorrow.

Christian education must direct such sane, balanced thinking, with its concentration, its discrimination and the beauty of its imaginative spark, against whatever stands athwart the path of Jesus' mission.

"I am come that they might have life, and have it more abundantly."

By so much as a thought, a habit, a commodity, a traffic or an institution destroys life, threatens it, or inherently limits it to skimpy dimensions or oppressive conditions; that thought, habit, commodity, traffic or institution offers direct opposition to the great purpose for which Jesus lived on earth and died on Calvary. It constitutes, thereby, a direct challenge to Christian thought and Christian life.

Alcohol, as a substance, has been the first requisite of a habit and, as a commodity, the first essential of a traffic, which together have created through the long ages a major threat to the happiness and fullness of life. The Christian student must consider the resulting problem.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION

Chapter One

ALCOHOL, ITS NATURE AND SERVICE TO MAN

As the whole astonishing universe is built of electrical charges, so every problem, however intricate, has its simple sine qua non. In the drink problem, it is alcohol.

In the Nature of Alcohol is rooted the social, political, economic, and moral liability known as the liquor evil. But what is alcohol?

The Chemist Answers: There are many alcohols, among them, methyl, ethyl, propyl, butyl, amyl, and benzyl. Ethyl, described by Duncan as "the flower of the sisterhood", is the alcohol of beverages and the one so largely in demand for industrial purposes. It is often called grain alcohol, industrial alcohol, molasses alcohol, or simply alcohol. Its chemical formula is C_2H_5OH .

In popular terms it is described as a mobile, volatile, colorless liquid, with agreeable odor. It has a sharp or biting taste. It boils at $78.3^{\circ} C.$, and solidifies at $-130^{\circ} C.$ Though it appears in nature it is not found in useful amounts. It is made by processes of fermentation and distillation.

The Bio-Chemist Adds: Fermentation is a chemical action correlated to a physiological process accompanying the life of the yeast, for yeasts are living things. It arises from the action of yeast upon sugars available from many fruits, grains, and starchy vegetables. Some prefer to say that the yeast feeds upon the sugar, breaks it down and excretes it

as alcohol and carbon dioxide with certain other by-products.¹

The Pharmacist Answers: A drug, useful in compounding medicines and as a preservative.

The Physician Answers: A drug, once highly regarded as a therapeutic agency in certain diseases, but recently largely displaced by more effective substances, as in the use of insulin for treatment of diabetes.

The Habitual Drinker Answers: That to which I am driven by an uncontrollable appetite.

The Liquor Dealer Answers: That which fills my pockets with profit.

The Bible Answers: A mocker; raging; a deceiver.² A cause of poverty.³ An occasion for the pronouncement of a woe upon him that supplies it to others.⁴ It may even become a barrier against entry into the Kingdom of Heaven.⁵

Its Field of Use

In the answers of the chemist and the pharmacist is suggested the field of proper use for alcohol. The explanation lies in two of its three characteristic actions.

1. *Alcohol is a noteworthy solvent*, second only to water in importance and effective in many cases where water is not.

2. It has marked affinity for oxygen which is the basis of its action as a *precipitant of protein*.

3. *It is a highly active dehydrant.*

¹ Robert Kennedy Duncan, *The Chemistry of Commerce*, Ch. 7. *Chemistry in Industry*, Vol. 1, Ch. 3. Pub'd by Chemical Foundation, Inc.

² Prov. 20:1.

³ Prov. 23:21.

⁴ Hab. 2:15.

⁵ I Cor. 6:10.

As a solvent and as a dehydrant it becomes an essential in seemingly endless industrial and scientific processes. It enters into the preparation and manufacture of an almost unbelievable number of gadgets and substances and many articles of extensive, practical use.

Most gases dissolve in it more readily than in water and it is the best, when not the only practicable, solvent of many solid and liquid compounds such as resins, hydrocarbons, fatty acids and not a few mineral salts.

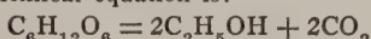
The following are only a very few of the processes of industry and the articles or substances in the manufacture or preparation of which industrial alcohol plays a part either as a solvent or as a dehydrant.

1. Cleaning	16. Linoleum
2. Polishes	17. Inks
3. Canned Heat	18. Paper
4. Varnishes	19. Glues
5. Enamels	20. Steel pens
6. Paint and Varnish Removers	21. Rubber Goods
7. Celluloid and Pyralin	22. Explosives
8. Flavorings	23. Tear gases
9. Dyes	24. Mustard gases
10. Perfumes	25. Anesthetics
11. Shaving Cream	26. Antiseptics
12. Tooth Paste	27. Sterilizers
13. Germicide	28. Artificial silk
14. Deodorant	29. Printing
15. Insulin	30. Photography

By-Products

Beyond these are the useful by-products from the manufacture of industrial alcohol. When the yeast reacts upon the sugar it produces both alcohol and carbon-dioxide.⁶

⁶ For this the chemical equation is:



The carbon-dioxide, after being purified, is used in soda fountains, employed as a preservative, and to fill space in tin cans not taken by foods packed for shipment in air tight containers.

From the residue in the stills are salvaged valuable quantities of potash and ammonia, and in the further distillation of alcohol for its refinement fusel oil is collected. Other substances like glycerol appear but as yet are lost for want of economical processes by which to save them.

Greater Use May Lie Ahead

Alcohol in industry has not likely approached its zenith. Many believe that its usefulness has not yet been suspected. As a source of light and heat and more particularly of power it is attentively watched by those familiar with the field.

Utopian life has been pictured for the future motorist with an alcohol burning automobile. According to prophecies he may expect never again to hear a carbon knock. His car will last longer, run at reduced maintenance cost, and give him more power to pull out of the mud of which, however, there should by then be none. A favored theory has been one of combining gasoline and alcohol. It seems that inside a motor they mix to advantage, in happy contrast to the result when gasoline is in the motor and alcohol in the driver.

While inferior to gasoline in heating capacity alcohol gives greater power because it will endure greater compression. Its fuel use is said to await only commercial production⁷ in sufficient quantities and at economical prices. Some authorities predict that the raw material which will fill the need will be some rank tropical growth with high percentages of starch and sugar.

⁷ See: William W. Buffum—*Vital Speeches*—Aug. 1, 1937.

The story of alcohol and man is an unfinished tale. It promises many a romantic chapter of adventure and invention. All this in contrast to the conception of the one who says, "If alcohol is a product of nature, God must have intended us to use it." It is not present in nature in useful quantities. But it evidently was intended that man use alcohol in vast abundance, all of which he can do without ever drinking a drop.

Industrial alcohol renders great, and promises greater, service. It has no part in the drink problem except as it may be diverted into illegal beverage channels.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Report on process by which alcohol is made.
2. Report interesting detail on processes in which alcohol is used in making articles of daily use.
3. Report on power alcohol.

QUESTIONS

1. What is alcohol?
2. Does it occur in nature? In liberal amounts?
3. What is the field of use in which alcohol is agreed to be beneficial?
4. Name some uses of alcohol in industry. In the arts. In the sciences.
5. What by-products result from the manufacture of alcohol?
6. What undeveloped use of alcohol challenges industry?

Chapter Two

BEVERAGE ALCOHOL: THE ROOT OF THE EVIL¹

When properly employed, alcohol is a worthy servant of man; but in its familiar role as a BEVERAGE, it is an age-old CULPRIT. Ironically enough, its capacity to harm the human body is rooted in the same characteristics which make it so useful in industry, the sciences and the arts. In their infinite variety, the effects of alcohol are both fascinating and bewildering. Even when confined to its effects upon the drinker, without regard to the larger social consequences, the evidences are unwieldy.²

I. Alcohol Classified

A. It Does Not Nourish. For centuries alcohol was assumed to be a true food. Some authorities still give it technical, one might say artificial, classification as a food.

¹ Haven Emerson, *Alcohol, Its Effects on Man*. Emil Bogan and Lehmann W. S. Hisey, *What About Alcohol?* Marguerite Skidmore and Caroline LaGrange Brooks, *Boys and Girls Learn About Alcohol*. Robert E. Corradini, *Narcotics and Youth*. Bertha Rachel Palmer, *Syllabus on Alcohol*. Of the foregoing several are avowedly elementary, a virtue rather than a fault in studies in a field so little known.

² J. A. Waddell and M. D. Haag, *Alcohol in Moderation and Excess*. These writers appear to have succeeded better than most in achieving a logical arrangement. Or perhaps it only appears so to this writer because closer akin to her own which had been determined before theirs was seen.

Out of a long controversy, at this point, these salient facts emerge:

1. Although alcoholic beverages contain substances, aside from alcohol, which have food value, these appear in only negligible proportions. To receive them in such quantities as to make them a source of nourishment, one must drink enough to risk harm from the alcohol.

2. The only food function now claimed for alcohol is that of an immediate and quite limited fuel supply, incidental to its oxidation in the body.

3. Alcohol is the only substance, ever classified as a food, which has this one food function and no other. In order to include it among the foods, a special, or artificial, class must be created for it. Some eminent authorities do just this. Among them is Dr. Haven Emerson who, however, all but cancels the act by qualifying his classification, as follows:

... it is not included in the list of some thirty-seven food essentials . . . because alcohol . . . is in no sense, under conditions of health, necessary or desirable as food. It is never, except from ignorance, included among the foods of children's diet. It is almost universally excluded from the diet of persons devoted to athletic excellence or to skill requiring a high degree of rapidity, accuracy, or endurance of muscular response to the brain.³

Many others find no justification for a "peculiar and specially framed definition" of food to provide admission for alcohol.⁴

Though not a food, alcohol may encourage obesity. Moderate amounts often favor over-eating and through

³ Emerson, op. cit. p. 9. Cf. Emerson, *Survey Graphic*, Aug. 1933, p. 412.

⁴ C. C. Weeks, *Alcohol and Human Life*. Sec. Edition, Ch. 7.

the oxidation of alcohol in their stead, fats and carbohydrates are saved. Fat may then accumulate in undesirable amounts and with undesirable distribution.

B. It Does Not Stimulate. The earliest experiments seemed to show that for a brief period, under certain conditions, alcohol increases muscular work. The increased activity really results from the depression or lessened control of higher centers which normally hold in check the muscles in question.

C. Alcohol Is a Depressant. Dr. Richard C. Cabot sums it up:

It is generally agreed among physicians now that it is never a stimulant, always a narcotic.⁵

Alcohol is one of the oldest known narcotics or anesthetics. Along with others, the Chinese, Egyptians and Indians seem to have used it for the purpose of anesthesia.⁶ But it is slower and relatively more harmful than the prevalent modern agencies for inducing sleep.

D. Alcohol Is a Poison. Earlier medical authorities decried claims of reformers that alcohol should be commonly regarded as a poison and that, even in small quantities, it was dangerous. More recently, however, several factors have emboldened the statements of scientific investigators in this field:

1. Most important is the cumulative evidence of laboratory tests.

⁵ Richard C. Cabot, *A Layman's Handbook of Medicine*, p. 416. Raymond Dodge and F. G. Benedict, *Physiological Effects of Alcohol*, p. 253.

⁶ Walter R. Miles, *Testimony Before Ways and Means Committee*, H of R, Dec. 1932. Bancroft and Richter, *Chemistry of Anesthesia*, Jo. of Phys. Chem., Vol. 35. Julius Stieglitz, *The Chemistry of Medicine*, p. 461.

2. Another is the discovery of better therapeutic agencies.
3. Finally, the medical fraternity cannot be indifferent to the increasing cost of alcohol-induced errors inherent in modern life.

It is now regarded as quite scientific to say that alcohol is a protoplasmic poison.⁷

II. Clinical and Laboratory Evidence

The body of clinical and laboratory evidence supporting the classification of alcohol as a depressant and a poison is now impressive.

Dr. Emil Kraepelin was the first recognized and important pioneer in the scientific investigation of the effects of alcohol.⁸

This Austrian physician did not, in his initial efforts, essay a particular interest in the alcohol problem. He began, rather, a purposeful study of the psychic effect of drugs, in the search of data on the nature of mental diseases. Experimenting with several drugs, he found such startling, disturbing results from alcohol that he felt compelled to pursue with thoroughness a special study of its action. The importance of his findings was greatly increased because they were from small doses often below the amount called "dietetic."

Enlisting the help of his students and associates in his school of psychology in Munich and Heidelberg, he con-

⁷ "Alcohol has been shown to be distinctly toxic to the amoeba, the simplest form of protoplasmic life. Alcohol is a narcotic, a poison, and an abnormal drug, the quantity matters not, the gradual accumulation of this poison has been proved to be destructive to man . . ." DeLancy Carter, M. D., *International Congress Against Alcoholism*, 1920 (p. 51 of reports).

⁸ Prof. S. Exner is sometimes credited with having made earlier experiments with the same conclusions, but Kraepelin's results were published and were known earlier.

tinued his studies through many years. His conclusions stand unrefuted, unless we regard as refutation proof that at one point his results were too favorable to alcohol. Though his published evidences fill many volumes his conclusions are often simplified as briefly as this:

1. All doses of alcohol depress the intellectual processes of apprehension, memory, and judgment.
2. Small doses facilitate motor discharge at first and subsequently depress it.⁹
3. Large doses depress both intellect and motor processes from the first.
4. The nature and the amount of the effects depend upon the individual and his condition.

Kraepelin emerged from his studies evaluating the alcohol load as one of the heaviest carried by civilization.

About a quarter of a century later came the Rosanoffs¹⁰ reinvestigating and reinterpreting old experiments, while making studies of their own. They summarized results achieved up to that time, giving major credit to Kraepelin's work as the richest source of established fact. They offered the following conclusions as firmly supported:

1. Alcohol impairs every human faculty.
2. The higher and more complex the human faculty the more pronounced is the effect of alcohol upon it.
3. The effects of alcohol are cumulative, that is, its continuous use, even in comparatively moderate quantities, impairs faculties at a rapidly increasing rate.

The Symptoms by which these effects may be recog-

⁹ Even temporary increase in muscular work has been proved only apparent, the activity resulting from release of inhibitory centers, as elsewhere noted.

¹⁰ M. A. and A. J. Rosanoff, *Evidences Against Alcohol*, McClure's, Mar. 1909.

nized and gaged have been summarized in terms understandable to any layman but with fidelity to the results of his own experiments by Dr. Walter R. Miles. He has worked out the progression from sobriety to deep anesthesia, showing ten stages, determined by the degree of concentration of alcohol in the blood. It has been widely published and was incorporated in the evidence submitted by Dr. Miles in the so-called Beer Hearings of 1932:

SCALE OF TOXIC SYMPTOMS

The decimal figures after the numerals indicate milligrams of alcohol per cubic centimeter of blood.

1. 0.10—Clearing of the head. Mild tingling of the mucous membrane of the mouth and throat.
2. 0.20—Slight fullness and mild throbbing at back of head. Touch of dizziness. Sense of warmth and general physical well-being. Small bodily aches and fatigue relieved. Feeling tone of pleasantness.
3. 0.30—Mild euphoria. "Everything is all right," "very glad I came," etc. No sense of worry. Feelings of playing a very superior game. Time passes quickly.
4. 0.40—Lots of energy for the things he wants to do. Talks much and rather loudly, hands tremble slightly, movements a bit clumsy; unembarrassed; makes glib or flippant remarks. Memories appear rich and vivid.
5. 0.50—Sitting on top of the world. Normal inhibitions practically cut off, takes personal and social liberties of all sorts as impulse prompts. Enlarges on his past exploits. "Can lick anybody in the country." Marked blunting of self-criticism.
6. 0.70—Rapid strong pulse and breathing. Amused at his own clumsiness or rather at what he takes to be the perversity of things about him.

7. 1.00—Staggers very perceptibly. Talks to himself. Fumbles long with the keys in unlocking and starting his car. Feels drowsy, sings loudly, complains that others don't keep on their side of the road.
8. 2.00—Needs help to walk or to undress. Easily angered. Shouts, groans, and weeps by turns. Is nauseated and has poor control of urination. Cannot recall with whom he spent the evening.
9. 3.00—In a stuporous condition, very heavy breathing, sleeping and vomiting by turns. No comprehension of language.
10. 4.00—Deep anesthesia, may be fatal.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Discuss Dr. Miles' Scale of Toxic Symptoms, showing what it teaches concerning the so-called moderate use of alcohol.
2. Classify alcohol and explain your classification.

QUESTIONS

1. Is alcohol a food?
2. Why was it mistaken for a stimulant?
3. Is it permissible to classify alcohol as a poison? Why?
4. What is a narcotic?
5. Who led in the scientific investigations of alcohol? With what results?

Chapter Three

BEVERAGE ALCOHOL: THE ROOT OF THE EVIL (Cont'd)

The foregoing pages set forth conclusions and evidences concerning the effects of alcohol without considering the deeper physiological or other actions which cause the outward manifestations. To the underlying processes we now direct our attention.

I. The Process of Narcosis, or How Alcohol Attacks the Body

The usual process by which the body cares for food involves a chemical change in the substances received,¹ before they pass into the blood. This process takes place in the stomach and is called digestion. But alcohol goes directly into the blood, without change.

Through the circulation of the blood it makes a quick trip to all parts of the body. It does not stop short of attack upon the "structural, physiological, developmental, and hereditary unit"—the microscopic cell.

The content of both the body and the nucleus of the cell is protoplasm, "made of very common things put together as nothing else in the world". It baffles the scientist. To subject it to chemical analysis he must use acids and alkalis which kill it. The dead matter remaining is no longer protoplasm.

¹ Except the simplest carbohydrates, such as grape-sugar, already in proper form for absorption.

This strange substance is chiefly protein, a complex, jelly-like substance, in appearance not unlike the white of an egg. Cells, the units made up of protoplasm, are commonly separated by a membrane or cell-wall, the function of which is protective. It contains quantities of fat-like substances called lipoids.² The solubility of fats in alcohol furnishes the key to the power of alcohol as a lipoid-alterant. Finding its way through this insulation alcohol does not enter into the composition of the protoplasm, but while still remaining unchanged, it administers an anesthetic. It produces a narcosis of the cell.³

² Lipoid, from the Greek "lipos" (fat) and "eidos" (form, appearance); resembling fat; a fat-like substance which is chemically, however, not necessarily related to the fats and does not form soaps with alkalies. Lecithin and cholesterin are lipoids. . . . *Medical Dictionary*.

The term has been variously employed almost to the point of destroying its usefulness. Whatever other determinants fix the definition, lipoids always seem to be sensitive to alcohol.

³ Concerning the fact and manifestations of narcosis there is marked agreement; concerning its physiology and chemistry (the theory of anesthesia) authorities speak with careful avoidance of finality. The statement in this text has all the inadequacies of a simple, non-technical summary of an intricate and technical action around which scientific dispute still gathers.

The modern lipoid theory was foreshadowed by Bibon and Harless (1847) in the earliest bio-chemical explanation of narcosis, but it was displaced by a procession of theories, each in turn—among them the precipitation, dehydration, water solubility and asphyxial theories. Overton and Meyer revived and developed the lipoid emphasis. Renewed attack awaited it but, perhaps with some modification, it seems to be in the ascendancy.

V. E. Henderson, *Present Status of the Theories of Narcosis*, 1934, *Physiological Reviews*, Vol. 10, while conceding the "conception that narcosis is a general phenomenon manifested by living matter in response to the presence of an adequate amount of a narcotic within the cell" warns that "it is not necessarily the case that the changes

II. Effects Upon the Nervous System

While it is believed that all cells are susceptible to this effect of alcohol and that not even the germ cells are exempt,⁴ it is most quickly effective upon the nerve cells,⁵ which are thought to have rather more lipoids in their insulating membranes than do most others. Though it reaches all parts of the body almost simultaneously, it attacks first the most highly developed, and therefore most sensitive, cells—those of the nervous system. The most highly developed cells of the nervous system are those of the brain. So we say it goes to the head.

produced by an anesthetic in the nerve cells are the same as those produced in other cells." But he assumes that "today there is general agreement that lipoids exist in all cells in greater or lesser quantity and play an important if not perhaps the preeminent importance in cell function."

R. S. Lillie, who makes the point that lipoid solvents are only one class of anesthetics, concludes (*Protoplasmic Action and Nervous Action*, p. 216) that possibly the reversible characteristics of low concentrations of narcotics are expressions of lipoid-alterant action, while with higher concentrations the specific structural compounds of the protoplasm, the proteins, are affected through coagulation or other changes due to absorption, and irreversible effects result. In either case alcohol would qualify as a narcotizing agent.

Harold E. Himwich, *Alcohol and Man*, Emerson Editor, p. 16: "The exact nature of the narcotic action of alcohol is not known. However, the depression which is observed both in oxidation and anoxidation processes is probably the expression of deep-seated chemical changes involving perhaps the water content of the protoplasm which constitutes the cells of the body."

⁴ Herman K. Bouman, *Alcohol and Mental Hygiene* (address to the Congress of Mental Hygiene, May 6, 1930, Washington, D. C.).

⁵ D. M. Whitaker, *Alcohol and Man*, Emerson Editor, p. 83: "In general the concentration of a narcotic required to suppress the functioning of mammalian nerve cells is only about one-sixth that needed to suppress the activities of other types of cells."

By striking first at the seat of control, it takes a short-cut to its fundamental attack upon man. A consideration of the central nervous system will make that very clear. It serves the body through a great variety of functions, each of which reflects, in its disturbance or suspension, the presence of alcohol. Most of these are excitatory, that is, those in which the nerve impulses produce stimulation; but there is also an inhibitory or control function which acts as a check or guard upon most of the others.

A. The Inhibitory Function. Of all the physical effects of alcohol the first and most acute is its depression of the nerve cells of the inhibitory center. By relaxing the inhibitory function it turns an otherwise well-behaved person into a talkative, loud-mouthed, thoroughly embarrassing, though never embarrassed, member of society. These characteristics of the drinker's conduct are responsible for this false impression that alcohol stimulates or excites.

B. The Excitatory Functions. These are many and alcohol seems to assail them in order, beginning with the highest.

1. The Intellectual Functions. Many faculties enter into the intelligence and the intellect, among them: observation, memory, criticism, judgment, will power, moral sense, fear, love, hate. Serious impairment of such faculties yields mal-adjusted members of society. The more extreme cases include every type of emotional instability and mental inadequacy.⁶

⁶ Emerson, *Alcohol, Its Effects on Man*, pp. 77-78: "Summarizing the general experience of hospitals for mental disease in many states, which shows individual variation but on the whole astonishingly uniform record, we find that alcohol is the direct and principal cause of much mental disease of serious distinct types." George C. Cutten, *Psychology of Alcoholism*, p. 276: "There is a reciprocal relation between alcoholism and insanity, one causing the other; the more serious result is frequently seen in the offspring than in the

Here we are very near the inhibitory functions, perhaps the only important difference being that the control impulse is a depressing or precautionary one, while in the intellectual faculties the nerve impulse stimulates.

Of all the factors comprising the intellect and the intelligence, will power and the moral sense are of greatest consequence. There is a close relation between the will power, which is sometimes described as the power to say "yes" or "no" and mean it, and other intellectual functions like memory and judgment.⁷

Were it not for its overpowering effect upon judgment and the will the drinker would quite largely solve the problem for us by letting alcohol alone as the common repentance of the drunkard after a debauch testifies. His intentions are the best; but as a victim of alcohol he is no longer in possession of normal will power. Herein is a primary factor in the habit-forming power of alcohol.

As Kraepelin showed:

Moral deterioration is a prominent and characteristic symptom. There is a profound change in the moral character and the patients soon lose sight of higher ideals of life and the sense of honor.⁸

2. Reflex Functions and Coordination. Most of the activities of our bodies are carried on without our awareness, comprising reflex or automatic functions. These actions involve the transfer of impulses from sensory to motor nerves, or vice versa, without one's willing it or even thinking person who is afflicted with either. Insane parents often produce children who are not able to withstand the ravages of alcohol and alcoholic parents produce imbecile, idiotic, nervous and unstable offspring."

⁷ Cutten, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-111.

⁸ Kraepelin, *Kraepelin's Clinical Psychiatry*, as abstracted and adapted by A. Ross Diefendorf, p. 167.

ing about it. Such transfers or reflexes take place in the spinal chord or in the brain, that is, at some point in the central nervous system. Among the most familiar actions in the reflex class are the eye-wink and the knee-jerk.

Closely bound up with reflex functions is the whole matter of the coordination of our movements.⁹ Both are depressed by alcohol. When the nerves are narcotized by it, a stronger impulse is required to get through or to produce the reflex.

The clumsiness of the tipsy man is well known—his inability to walk straight, his fumbling, uncoordinated movements make him inefficient, foolish, and dangerous.

3. Voluntary Motor Functions. The whole muscular system of the body is held under the direction of the brain through the action of the nerves.

If the motor nerve of a muscle is destroyed whether by cutting or by some poison like alcohol, the muscle is paralyzed and wastes away.¹⁰

4. Sensory Functions. The sense areas of the brain are connected by nerve fibres with the end-organs of the special senses, with one another, with the motor areas and the intellectual areas.

a. Of the special senses *Sight* suffers most from alcohol. Under its influence one:

Sees less (that is, a shorter distance ahead);

Sees in a more restricted field (not so much out of the corners of the eyes so to speak);

Sees things for what they are not;

⁹ Some dispose of coordination quite simply as a reflex.

¹⁰ Ernest Henry Starling, *Action of Alcohol on Man*, p. 175, concedes that the alcohol in $\frac{1}{2}$ bottle light wine, $1\frac{1}{2}$ pts. ale, 3 oz. whiskey, or $\frac{1}{4}$ bottle port, in nearly all cases affects muscular coordination and performance.

Sees less distinctly or in multiple images (blurred or double vision).

And still more:

In small doses alcohol often dims, and in larger ones annihilates, perception of colors.¹¹

b. *Touch* is sometimes called the mother of all the senses, or again, our most extensive sense. As one observer has put it, the functions of all our sense organs are refined forms of touch. The special cells of the eye are sensitive to the delicate contact of waves of light; smell sensations result from sensitiveness to wave lengths of various aromas; hearing, to wave lengths in the air.

Touch is delicately developed in man far beyond anything known among animals. It is the basis of the finer skills.

The nerve centers of the brain which control it have been found to lie in the same area with those which control the will and motion. The two are seemingly associated in the closest connections in the nervous system.

Small doses of alcohol blunt the sense of touch and large ones may destroy it.

c. *Hearing*. Everyone knows the disposition of the drunken person to talk louder and in a higher key. This occurs only because to the defective sense of hearing the normal volume and pitch sound fainter.

The sense of balance is generally thought to be related to that of hearing in that it is supposed to reside in the six little fluid-bearing canals in the ears (three in each). The inability of the drunken man to maintain his normal equilibrium testifies to the effect of alcohol on this sense.

d. *Taste*

and

e. *Smell*, closely related, called the chemical senses. Smell

¹¹ Cutten, op. cit., pp. 170; 179.

stimulates taste. One has only to remember how tasteless food can be when a cold takes the sense of smell off duty. These are lower senses; but alcohol can and does reach them.

The victim of alcohol receives through benumbed, sub-normal senses less information, of a less accurate variety. Through his dulled association centers he gets quite a cloudy picture of even that which his deficient senses have brought in. And upon this indistinct picture of conditions his narcotized motor functions act less quickly and with less precision than under normal conditions. Whether on the highway, under laboratory observation, or in the routine world of business he shows retarded reaction, decreased speed of movement, and increased proneness to error.

5. There remain the VITAL FUNCTIONS of the nervous system, residing in the cells which control the processes without which there can be no life—processes like breathing, the circulation of the blood and nutrition. Lowest in the scale of functions of the central nervous system, they are the last to be affected by alcohol. Quantities which tell in marked degree upon the inhibitory and intellectual functions leave these untouched. Doses which appreciably influence motor and sensory functions are still incapable of interrupting these vital centers. But in variable amounts, depending upon the physical condition of the drinker, the concentration and the period of time in which the drink is consumed, alcohol may, and not infrequently does, paralyze these vital nerve cells and snuff out life.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Read and report all you can on protoplasm.
2. Describe the process of narcosis.
3. Outline the various functions of the nervous system and explain how alcohol affects them.

QUESTIONS

1. Why do we say alcohol goes to the head?
2. Why does alcohol affect the highest functions first?
3. Name some obvious effects of alcohol on the senses.
4. Of what service is the inhibitory function of the nervous system?
5. What dangers arise to the drinker in everyday routine because of the effects of alcohol upon the nervous system?

Chapter Four

BEVERAGE ALCOHOL: THE ROOT OF THE EVIL (Cont'd)

I. Direct Effect of Alcohol Upon the Blood

While alcohol is being carried to the nervous system and to the farthest frontiers of the body it gets in its direct work upon the blood which furnishes transportation. This "rushing life stream" which supplies both food and drink to all parts of the body,¹ is crowded with microscopic cells of red and white, called corpuscles. The red ones (really yellow in appearance unless seen in vast throngs) are created in the bone marrow and do not leave the bloodstream. They are the air carriers.

The white cells are variously called the scavengers of the body, wandering chemists, soldiers, and a navy of fighting ships, each of which (notwithstanding the variety of figures) vividly suggests the service they render. They are sometimes said to be the carriers of the substance which causes the blood to coagulate, though some prefer to assign that function to another somewhat mysterious body, the blood platelet. The white corpuscles are known to multiply greatly when the body is called upon to battle infection. When the blood count reveals an increase in these doughty fighters it is both an indication of disease and a guarantee that nature is at work with her healing power.

¹ Arthur Dermont Bush, *College Text-Book of Physiology*, treatment of "Blood."

Alcohol interferes with the oxygen supply which the blood carries to the body tissues. Meanwhile, in the presence of alcohol the white cells grow lazy and indifferent to their work as microbe exterminators. Here is an explanation of the tendency of alcohol to make for lowered resistance to disease.

II. Other Systems and Bodily Functions as Affected by Alcohol

A. The Digestive System. With a popular touch, Clendening² describes the digestive system as a muscular tube into which glands all along its course pour secretions. Some of these glands are embodied in the wall of the tube; some, notably the pancreas and liver, lie outside it and send their secretions through a duct emptying into the digestive tract.

Necessary to the chemical action of digestion are certain fluids—the saliva, the gastric and intestinal juices. By irritating the mucous membrane in the *Mouth*, alcohol increases slightly the flow of saliva, seemingly without affecting the quality.³ Repeated irritation may desensitize the mouth, leaving taste less acute. Further, the additional saliva may invite a tendency to swallow food without adequate mastication.

In the *Stomach* its irritating action is more pronounced, both because it is in longer contact and because the stomach membranes are very sensitive. Gastric juice appears in increased amounts and is altered in quality. It carries a surplus of hydrochloric acid and a lesser proportion of pepsin

² Logan Clendening, *The Human Body*.

³ The irritating action of alcohol upon the mucous membrane of the mouth and the nose (like that of smelling salts or mustard) explains its usefulness in cases of faint. It is now known to be no better than many other substances.

ferment. In the presence of any considerable concentration of alcohol the digestive process, which is never aided by it, is measurably retarded. Wine in proportion of three per cent of the stomach content has been found to have this effect.⁴ Continued use may impair the secretory function of the glands and persistent use in large amounts produces chronic gastritis in which definite structural changes appear in the stomach wall.⁵

The *Liver* shows capacity for quick and remarkable recovery from injury but in the intoxicated person these functions are impaired and if excesses persist, fatty degeneration, and both necrosis and cirrhosis of the liver appear.

Conceding that cirrhosis may occur in total abstainers, Dr. Harrison S. Martland, says:

While cirrhosis of the liver has not been successfully imitated in experimental laboratory animals by the addition of alcohol to their diet or by repeatedly intoxicating them with alcohol, about 4 to 6% of all chronic alcoholics develop cirrhosis of the liver, and the condition occurs with greater frequency among alcoholics than among abstainers, and its prevalence has varied quite consistently in modern nations with the alcohol consumption of the population, falling promptly with any marked reduction from any cause in the use of alcohol, and as quickly rising when the consumption of beverage alcohol again rises.⁶

B. The Respiratory System. The service of taking oxygen from the air and giving off the remaining carbon dioxide is performed by the respiratory system. The whole process of breathing is controlled by the spot in the brain called the breathing center or vital point. We have already observed

⁴ Emma Transeau, *Effects of Alcoholic Drinks*, p. 52, quoting R. H. Chittenden.

⁵ Harrison Martland, *Alcohol and Man*, Emerson Editor, p. 218.

⁶ Martland, *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 220.

that the vital functions of the nervous system of which this is one are not easily, but may be fatally, affected by alcohol. It is important here to explain how the alcoholized vital center affects the lungs:

It is one of the functions of the lungs to acquire O_2 and to eliminate CO_2 , which is acid. The centers respond to the presence of acid stimulation and cause over-breathing. Additional CO_2 is then eliminated and the condition of acidosis prevented. Under the influence of alcohol the respiratory center becomes narcotized and therefore less sensitive to these usual stimuli. Under such conditions CO_2 is eliminated in insufficient amounts and a condition of acidosis supervenes. The acidosis which may occur after the ingestion of alcohol is, therefore, the result of the depression of the respiratory center of the brain.⁷

Alcohol is thought not to affect the lungs directly, at least in any doses which would not prove lethal through reaction upon the vital centers; but it displays a marked tendency to lower the resistance in cases of infectious diseases of the lungs, like pneumonia and tuberculosis.⁸

C. The Circulatory System. This is the system by which the blood is kept on its journey. It includes the heart, arteries, veins and the lymphatics.

Alcohol has no direct effect upon the heart muscle . . . but the heart beat is usually quickened . . . owing to the depressant action of the drug upon the nervous mechanism which checks the rate of the heart beat.⁹

Alcohol tends to lower the arterial blood-pressure though this effect is not pronounced. It increases the viscosity of the blood, and thereby increases somewhat the load on the heart.¹⁰

⁷ Himwich, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸ Emerson, *Alcohol, Its Effects on Man*, p. 53.

⁹ Emerson, *Alcohol, Its Effects on Man*, p. 35.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

D. The Uro-Genital System. The kidneys, while allowing water to be eliminated freely, operate selectively upon other substances, supplementing thereby the functions of the liver as "regulators of the composition of the blood" and as protectors of the tissues, by removing substances that are known to be harmful and checking others which in excess present a threat.

The more recent experiments offer indisputable proof that alcohol, without consideration of the fluid ingested, increases the activities of the kidney, through action upon the kidney tissue.¹¹

Opinion in medical circles is divided concerning other possible effects, but Weeks offers impressive testimony from several distinguished physicians in support of his contention that:

Anything which interferes with its (the kidney's) work will sooner or later cause retention of waste products in the system and will also permit the escape of the valuable albuminous substances of the blood, through the filtering process. Alcohol has such an effect upon the kidney.¹²

Whether from a direct cause, or an indirect one working through lowered resistance, it seems agreed that drinkers show increased susceptibility to Bright's Disease.

E. Skin and Body Temperature. One of the most indicative of physical conditions is the deep temperature of the body. In a healthy person it is 98.6° F.

Heat is produced by the burning, within the body, of appropriate materials—fats, carbohydrates, proteins. It is given off through the blood vessels of the skin which dilate to bring warm blood to the skin in larger amounts, thus to permit its more ready cooling, and by the sweat glands

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹² Weeks, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

which, secreting moisture, provide for the body to be cooled through the evaporation of the perspiration. Through the reflex apparatus the heating and cooling are so nicely co-ordinated that each adjusts to the need created by the other.¹³ Even a small amount of alcohol affects the nerves in the walls of the blood vessels so that they dilate and give off heat; a larger dose adds to this effect that of disturbing the regulator so that the correct amount of heat is not produced. The drinker thinks he is warmer but his temperature is lower. With very large doses the temperature falls rapidly—sufficiently to result, under conditions of exposure, in easier freezing than is normal.

F. Reproductive Functions. If alcohol is used in what is popularly called intemperate amounts it has harmful influence both on parenthood and on offspring. In this, the environmental factor is not small. Loss of inhibitory control is a swift and sure result of alcohol. The relation is close between lessened control and the practices which make for moral laxity and reproductive degeneracy. But it is further urged that alcohol, in excessive amounts, may penetrate with direct effect upon the germ-plasm influencing both the parent and the child, and that it is a definite racial poison inducing changes in the germ-plasm which are transmissible.¹⁴

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

Review and summarize in a ten-minute report Lessons 2, 3, and 4 of Part One of this Lesson Series.

QUESTIONS

1. How does alcohol affect the blood?
2. In what other systems of the body does it have undesirable results?
3. What part may it play in mental disturbances? How?
4. Is there any evidence that the children of drinkers are affected?

¹³ Some call this coordinating device the thermostat of the body.

¹⁴ Weeks, op. cit., Ch. 11.

Chapter Five

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC—BEVERAGE ALCOHOL COMMERCIALIZED

As alcohol is the first requisite of the drink evil, in any age, its commercialization is the distinguishing factor of the modern menace. When intoxicating beverages become commodities the incentive of appetite, which actuates the drinker, is stimulated by the profit motive, which dominates the dealer. When such condition occurs at a time and in an environment, marked by highly organized industry and competitive advertising, the already weakened resistance of the consumer meets an all but irresistible sales pressure. The result is a traffic of startling dimensions and threatening momentum.

To assume that commercialization caused the current liquor problem is as erroneous as to forget that without it the trade could never have attained its modern proportions.

Against the first of these blunders we are warned by the prevalence of drink customs belonging to memories of the race already old when ancient records were taking form. History finds man with alcoholic liquors and the earliest writings in the field of chemistry show familiarity with the process of fermentation.¹ Drinking has been identified with primitive peoples of varied racial stocks and widely separated habitats. Indeed, "there is no large area of the earth without its indigenous intoxicant."²

¹ Arthur Harden, *Alcoholic Fermentation*, Intro.

² G. E. Partridge, *Studies in the Psychology of Intemperance*, p. 35.

We cannot fix the exact beginning of the story. But man could hardly have made alcohol in the pre-agricultural period and he could have made it only in small quantities prior to the era of *fixed* agriculture. Nomadic tribes had no suitable vessels for either its manufacture or its storage.³ On this account, ability to get unquestionably drunk, with regularity, probably awaited the coming of the potter's art. Drinking likely began in earnest when man was sufficiently rooted to the soil to be entering upon what we call civilization.

The Commodity Necessary to the Traffic

The magnitude of this ancient heritage is important to our understanding of alcohol as a commodity. Given time enough, embedded in tradition, interwoven with social custom, immortalized in song, enshrined in literature, even an admitted evil, may entrench itself against critical thought and capture imagination for its slave. It may become, thereafter, with each generation, a less questioned part of the heritage from the long past.

Drink Traffic Not a Normal Business

The traffic in intoxicating beverages is not a normal one either as to its commodity or as to the nature of the trade.

A firm of meat-packers may use every advertising medium known to stimulate a market for, let us say, a particular brand of ham. Unless met by an equally aggressive and more effective advertising campaign by a competitor, the sales of that brand of ham will increase. But the total consumption of meat will not greatly increase. It may not increase, by much, the total consumption of ham. The average family would not eat ham even once a day for any extended period, nor would it acquire through the eating of it an uncontrolla-

³Campbell, *Drink Problem of Today*, Kelynack, Editor, Ch. 1.

ble desire for meat at the exclusion or great diminution of its bread, potatoes or green vegetables. There is a definite and quickly reached saturation point for any of the principal items of wholesome diet. This results, in part, from the fact that these leave unimpaired the judgment which tells one when enough has been had.

Basis of Abnormality in Nature of Alcohol

But because alcohol is a narcotic drug, because it is a variety of poison, because it tends to create an appetite, and finally, because it weakens the judgment and will by which such appetite might be controlled it lends itself as does no wholesome commodity to dangerous stimulation of its market. The story of such stimulation by the liquor traffic is one of wantonness and excess.

The Modern Touch

The commercial element entered the development very early. Something is known of an ancient import trade in drink in Egypt and there are other evidences that early vintners made to sell. But the craft of studied salesmanship, the creation of a market where no natural one exists, or its artificial stimulation where the natural one is small is a product of our industrial civilization—urban and mature. It is peculiarly a characteristic of modern, occidental society, altogether foreign to the philosophical Orient or to the Red Man's America.

The full impact of the liquor traffic is only now being felt because high powered machinery has implemented it for unprecedented destruction.

Difficult to Isolate Traffic's Blame

It is by no means easy to isolate the role of the traffic and to determine what might now be the state of things had

alcohol never been played upon by the cunning of such a trade. Prohibition withdrew open stimulation of the market but it did so after the nation had been conditioned by a commercially stimulated appetite. Also it left among us those accustomed to profit from the trade. These factors differentiated the prohibition era from a period hypothetically free from the influence of commercialized alcohol. What the problem would now be had commercialization never been is largely conjecture. But surely, through long centuries the way would have been clearer for the operation of human intelligence and the road of self-restraint would have been negotiated by many who have stumbled over temptation intensified by the purpose of others to profit by their weakness.

Traffic Shares Nature of Commodity

It is well-known that the trade attracts to it those who are least sensitive to social responsibilities. The pre-prohibition liquor traffic was honeycombed with moral degenerates, and the current effort to make the post-repeal trade respectable has not rid it of its natural alliance with the traffics in gambling and vice. It was established long since that the liquor trade is not averse to protecting its entrenchment by corruption of officials.

Seven decades ago (September 4, 1870), Wendell Phillips, in accepting the Prohibition Nomination for Governor of Massachusetts, struck squarely at that sore spot, saying:

New York, ruled by drunkards, is proof of the despotism of the dramshop. Men whom murderers serve that they may escape, and because they have escaped, the gallows, rule that city. The ribald crew which holds them up could neither stifle its own conscience nor rally its retinue but for the

grogshop. A like testimony comes from the history of other great cities.⁴

Wide-Spread Corruption

In the 1887-90 state-wide battles came some glaring examples of corruption. In Nebraska the familiar ballot-stuffing was simplified by an astounding padding of the census reports of that year, thus paving the way for counting more ballots than there were voters in Lincoln, Omaha and other centers.⁵

The famous Crowell-Cheves Interview uncovered the reeking story of corruption in the 1889 campaign in Pennsylvania.⁶ Nor were such activities confined to the period before the turn of the century. All the old "tricks of the trade" seemed to go from bad to worse, finally provoking investigations which piled up volumes of evidence concerning the intimidation and corruption, fraudulent practices, organized defiance of the law and utter ruthlessness in any course which promised the traffic perpetuation and extension or an increase in its profits.

The Overman Report

Pursuant to *U. S. Senate Resolution* No. 307, which made sweeping charges against the traffic, a sub-committee of the Committee on the Judiciary conducted extensive hearings. Headed by Senator Overman, this sub-committee, in submitting its report,⁷ declared the charges to be substantially sustained and said in summary:

⁴ *Encyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition*, Funk and Wagnalls, p. 488.

⁵ Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, p. 210 for fuller account.

⁶ *Encyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition*, pp. 121-122.

⁷ See: Senate Document 62: Sixty-sixth Congress, 1st Session (1919). Also for popular treatment of the whole corruption story: Ernest Gordon, *When the Brewer Had the Strangle Hold*.

The Committee is of the opinion that the record clearly established the following facts:

- a. That they (the United States Brewer's Association, brewing companies, and allied interests) have furnished large sums of money for the purpose of secretly controlling newspapers and periodicals.
- b. That they have undertaken to, and have frequently succeeded in, controlling primaries, elections and political organizations.
- c. That they have contributed enormous sums of money to political campaigns in violation of the Federal statutes of the several States.
- d. That they have exacted pledges from candidates for public office prior to election.
- e. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion they have attempted and partly succeeded in subsidizing the public press.
- f. That to suppress and coerce persons hostile to, and to compel support for, them they have resorted to an extensive system of boycotting unfriendly American manufacturing and mercantile concerns.
- g. That they have created their own political organization in many states and in smaller political units for the purpose of carrying into effect their own political will and have financed the same with large contributions and assessments.
- h. That with a view of using it for their own political purposes they contributed large sums of money to the German-American Alliance, many of the members of which were disloyal and unpatriotic.
- i. That they organized clubs, leagues, and corporations of various kinds for the purpose of secretly carrying on their political activities without having their interest known to the public.
- j. That they improperly treated the fund expended for political purposes as a proper expenditure of their business and consequently failed to return the same for taxation under the revenue law of the United States.
- k. That they undertook through a cunningly conceived

plan of advertising and subsidization to control and dominate the foreign language press of the United States.

1. That they have subsidized authors of recognized standing in literary circles to write articles of their selection for many standard periodicals.

m. That for many years a working agreement existed between the brewing and distilling interests of the country by the terms of which the brewing interests contributed two-thirds and the distilling interests one-third of the political expenditure made by the joint interests.

This is not a philippic from the pulpit or the accusation of an impassioned reformer. This is the report of a committee of the United States Senate after long and careful hearings.

As alcohol makes degenerates of its most faithful consumers, thereby threatening society through its attack upon the individual, the traffic, itself a degenerate but highly organized power, assails society, thereby threatening the individual by corrupting his environment. No conception of the drink problem and no plan for its solution can be adequate which takes into account either of these factors at the exclusion of the other. Brothers, not only "under the skin," they flaunt their kinship and alliance. They constitute a single menace.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Report on Evidences of Early Drink Customs found in Literature.
2. Report on Evidences of Corruption through the Liquor Traffic in your own state or city.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you know of the earliest uses of alcohol as a beverage?
2. What two major factors do we recognize in the drink problem?
3. How does modern industry increase the power of the commercial element?
4. How does the nature of the trade reflect the nature of the commodity?
5. Give some instances of corruption by the liquor interests.

PART TWO

Chapter Six

EARLY EFFORTS TO COPE WITH THE ALCOHOL PROBLEM— MORAL SUASION¹

The drink problem could be entirely eliminated only by the total abstinence of the whole people. But society does not solve its problems in the absolute.

Occasionally the process seems swift and complete, as when Lincoln struck the shackles from the slaves. Yet who forgets the stormy years in which the irrepressible conflict gathered its momentum? And who today escapes the scars with which the Civil War, these decades since, mars North and South alike, while the problem of the black man in the white man's land remains unsolved?

Liquor Menace More Stubborn Than Slavery

In many ways, the liquor evil is more stubborn than was slavery. In the United States, slavery was sectional. Its geographical concentration threw it into bold relief. More-

¹ For more extensive treatment of early temperance efforts see: Daniel Dorchester, *Liquor Traffic in All Ages; Encyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition*; Colvin, op. cit. and Cherrington, *Evolution of Prohibition in the U. S. A.*, which contains a most helpful chronology of the movement, though somewhat top-heavy with Anti-Saloon League emphasis, with quite glaring omissions of contributions by those of other persuasions. This aside, the marked ability and studious habits of its author bring to the work a high degree of reliability.

over, this bondage did not beget in the slaves a desire for further enslavement, whereas alcohol, by enslaving the will makes its victims unwittingly its aids.

Two Approaches to the Problem

As the alcohol problem is rooted in antiquity, so likewise is its recognition. Early drink customs were not accepted without protest. If Old Testament times had their Noahs and their Lots they had also their Rechabites² and their Nazarites.³ If China had her drunkenness she had also a Yu the Great, founder of the Hia Dynasty (2205 B.C.) who predicted the loss of kingdoms through drink and would have none of it.

Ancient or modern, every effort to solve the drink problem may be classified under one of two general approaches. The one is an appeal to the drinker, or potential drinker,—that is, to the individual. The other is the action of corporate society against the traffic,—that is, governmental action designed to lessen, limit or prohibit the trade. The first is generally and properly known as temperance work or moral suasion; the second, depending upon its severity is labelled regulation, control, or prohibition and is known as legal suasion. These two approaches are, respectively, the natural counter movements against the effects of alcohol upon the drinker and the results of the organized trade.

From the third decade of the seventeenth century, our colonial records are sprinkled with minor acts of law relative to intoxicating drinks. If boldness be the criterion, the most note-worthy effort was in Georgia, where for nine years Oglethorpe's prohibition of rum was in force. But it was far from the first. A full century before Massachusetts and

² Jer. 35:8.

³ Numbers 6:2-3.

Virginia had license measures. But the typical colonial attitude, even among those from whom reform leadership might have been expected, was one of denunciation of "excessive drinking," modified by an approving recognition of the so-called "true role" of the "public house." Indeed,

many statutes were plainly intended to encourage inn-keeping, brewing and distilling . . . each colony desired that the public houses . . . should be adequate and whenever the number of inns seemed insufficient, it was expected that the legislature would provide relief.⁴

Dr. Rush Makes History⁵

The "temperance movement" is usually said to have begun in 1785, yet that year marked neither the first denunciation of intemperance nor the earliest organized effort to do something about it, but only the appearance of a little pamphlet. But that pamphlet was the first "extended, weighty and well-sustained argument of practical character against the use of strong drink."

Its author, Dr. Benjamin Rush, though at the center of more than one medical controversy, stood at the top of his profession. Distinguished in affairs of state as a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and an advocate of the Federal Constitution, he was also a prolific writer and an educator with somewhat modern views.

The qualities of physician, statesman, writer, and educator were fused in Rush the humanitarian, as which he was prominent in both the anti-slavery and temperance movements.

His now historic document was entitled *The Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Body and Mind*. It was note-

⁴ John Allen Krout, *Origins of Prohibition*, p. 6.

⁵ Ibid., Ch. on "The Philadelphia Physician."

worthy for its daring pronouncements against a false esteem of liquor as medicine and for its author's awareness that "moderation" in spirits offered no solution. But it was no less remarkable for its own false esteem of malt and vinous liquors and opium. In consideration of the standards of the times the latter is less significant than the former.

The hearty reception given his discussion fired the old fervor which had made Rush, as a boy, responsive to the preaching of Whitefield and the militant advocate of whatever he espoused, be it a new medical system, a new constitution or an adventure in reform.

Aflame with enthusiasm, he enlisted Jeremy Belknap for New England and Dr. David Ramsay for the South. He talked temperance to his patients, his students, and to other physicians. In the last years his efforts were rewarded with the beginning of the organized movement against intemperance.

Another Physician Leads

Twenty-three years after the publication of the Rush Essay, a young doctor of Glen Falls, New York, having read it and found it to confirm his own observations and conclusions, called one day on a Congregational minister. A few weeks later the doctor, Billy James Clark, and the preacher, Dr. Lebbeus Armstrong, called a meeting, at which, on April 30, 1808, they organized the Union Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland, recognized as the first temperance society in all the world. It was, in fact, neither the first effort at pledge-signing nor the first group organized. But it was the first society to adopt a constitution and by-laws.

Local activity spread westward with the tide of immigration and by 1813 both Massachusetts and Connecticut had

active state societies, the latter being the direct result of the work of Dr. Lyman Beecher.

Movement Acquires National Dimensions

Thirteen years later, Dr. Beecher, still on the warpath, preached his famous Temperance Sermons, which share the honors of the year with the organization of the first national agency, effected on February 13th, on the principle of total abstinence from "ardent spirits" but without a definite pledge requirement. It was named the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance.

The summary of its reports for the next few years is a record of unbroken, cumulative triumph. By 1835 it reported 8,000 local societies with an aggregate membership of 1,500,000.

In 1833 there had been organized the Congressional Temperance Society, with General Cass, Secretary of War as its President. In that year was held the first national temperance convention. It had 440 delegates representing twenty-one states. In resolving that: "The traffic in ardent spirits as a drink and the use of it as such is morally wrong and ought to be abandoned," the convention expressed both the greater advance upon the threshold of which the movement now stood and the tenacity of the limitations which timid beginnings had fixed upon it. It was still "ardent spirits" only, against which they resolved, but the "traffic" was recognized as a vital factor.

Colvin comments with discrimination:

Up until about 1835 the basis of the societies had been opposition to the use of ardent spirits. It must be remembered that before this time most of the intoxicants produced in this country were distilled liquors. . . . But . . . breweries began to increase. The use of cider became more

general. Although the importation of spirits greatly decreased, the wine importation from 1826 to 1836 almost doubled . . . many . . . had relapsed into intemperance without having violated their pledge.⁶

By 1836 this state of affairs yielded a resolution by the second National Temperance Convention in favor of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors. At this meeting the National society reorganized under the name American Temperance Union. If soon thereafter the numbers enlisted seemed to dwindle, the explanation is not in a slackening concern about the menace of drink but first, in the higher standards erected by the temperance societies, and second, in diversion of attention from the older societies by the meteoric rise of the Washingtonian Movement.

The New Element Not an Unmixed Blessing

Though marked by spectacular growth and for a time regarded as a mighty impetus to the advancing cause of temperance, the Washingtonian movement was a throw-back to the exclusive emphasis upon moral suasion, from which the cause was about to emerge. To this, in part, it may owe its shortness of life. Another important factor in its early demise lay in the character of its membership.

It was avowedly a society of reformed drunkards and at first limited the programs of its meetings to largely "testimonials" from their own number. The relapses certain to occur among such a constituency, and their inadequate grasp of the entire movement, decreed the insufficiency of the organization. Meanwhile, its abundant if not excessive zeal, which, for a brief hour, gave to it such sweep and power, retarded somewhat the tide toward legal action.

⁶Colvin op. cit., p. 17 (reprinted by permission from Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc.)

Beginning in 1840 in Baltimore, by the end of 1841 at least 100,000 pledges had been taken and 250,000 is regarded as a low estimate of the total number enlisted during the life of the Washingtonian Movement. By 1843 it was completely deflated. Yet out of it came some power that carried on.

Through the gateway of the Washingtonian Movement John B. Gough entered upon his unique and serviceable career as a lecturer at home and abroad.⁷ From this movement emerged the Sons of Temperance, organized in 1842,—the first of the total abstinence secret orders. Ten years later came the International Order of Good Templars, which spread rapidly through the states and Canada. At one time it was the "most widespread international organization based on Total Abstinence and Prohibition principles."

In 1851, the action in Maine closed the era which, interspersed with local and minor legislation, had been pre-eminently one of moral suasion or temperance emphasis, and simultaneously opened one in which, though dotted by continued enterprises and even some new efforts of that approach, the temperance appeal was augmented and finally outdistanced by governmental action.

What Results by 1850?

What had the "temperance" crusade accomplished by the end of the first half of the nineteenth century?

I. The Numbers Enlisted Represented Gigantic Achievement. To have enrolled 1,500,000 persons out of a total population of about 13,000,000 was to give indisputable evidence of both the seriousness of the problem and the will to meet it.

⁷ Read Carlos Martyn, *John B. Gough*.

II. Priceless Human Values Were Conserved. Measured in these terms, one drunkard reclaimed or one potential drunkard spared the fate is not to be discounted. But there must have been many hundreds of thousands such. The Washingtonian Movement alone, in its brief moment, reached over 250,000 (some say 500,000).

III. The Friends of the Reform Had Their First Lessons in Organized Attack Upon the Problem. They learned both the power and the inadequacy of unaided moral suasion.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

Brief Biographical Sketches of Leaders of the Era Covered in this lesson:

1. Benjamin Rush
2. Jeremy Belknap
3. David Ramsey
4. Billy James Clark
5. Lyman Beecher
6. John B. Gough

QUESTIONS

1. Compare the drink problem with that of slavery.
2. What was the colonial attitude toward it?
3. When is the temperance movement usually said to have begun in the United States?
4. When did organization appear?
5. How would you characterize the movement prior to 1835?
6. Give your estimate of the contribution of the Washingtonian Movement.
7. How would you summarize the result of the work done between 1785 and 1851?

Chapter Seven

LEGAL SUASION TO THE FORE

The unique achievement of the early temperance movement, measured by its phenomenal growth, was dwarfed by the embarrassing dimensions of the remaining problem. There followed a period in which moral suasion was somewhat eclipsed by legal suasion. Though transition was neither sudden nor steady nor even consistent, three generalizations may be drawn:

1. Wide-spread recognition of the need for legal action came at approximately the time at which the temperance movement veered away from moderation and toward total abstinence.
2. The period from 1835 to 1850 was something of a twilight zone.
3. The era of state-wide prohibition was inaugurated in 1851 when Maine outlawed the traffic.

Neal Dow, Giant of the Maine Victory

Neal Dow, ranking leader of the Maine battle, was a man of "gentle courtesy . . . luminous intellect . . . and elevated moral sense." His father had been one of the Sixty-niners, an early group committed to total abstinence from hard liquor. Its chastisement included the effort to burn the churches of the two preachers who were members. Neal Dow must have recalled this many times as he warned his own family to sit in the evening with drawn shades, distributing themselves about the parlor where they would be least likely

to serve as ready targets for any brick bats which might fly through the windows.¹ From 1834 his interest was relentless, but the iron seems to have entered his soul when he called on a liquor-seller in behalf of a friend whose wife feared lest he lose his position through drink. The liquor-seller said:

Mr. Dow, you attend to your business and I will look after mine. . . . I have a legal right to sell it to him, and I shall do so, and I do not want you around here whining about it.²

Mr. Dow then sent the man's wife to no avail, whereupon he saw the urgency of destroying the legal right of that man to sell.

It should be remembered that drinking conditions were by that time quite desperate, in Maine. By 1837 the legislature had appointed a committee to consider the entire subject of the license system. Its report, the first official document in the history of Maine in which prohibition is suggested as the correct method, was written by General James Appleton, who, as a power in the state movement stood second only to Dow.

Diligently Dow canvassed the state again and again. The law of 1846 lacked vital provisions for effectiveness, but in 1851 Maine took her place as the first state free from legalized liquor. Meanwhile Neal Dow had gotten himself elected mayor of Portland for the express purpose of demonstrating the effectiveness of the law.

¹ That he so warned the family was recounted to the writer by the late Fred. N. Dow, son of Neal Dow, himself a courtly gentleman of the old school who worshipped at the shrine of his father's unsullied memory and remained to the end of his long and distinguished life an ardent defender of the prohibition faith.

² Dow, *Reminiscences*, p. 218.

Writing for the Encyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition, in 1891, Dow asserted:

All is changed for the better. . . . The most striking evidence of popular support was provided in 1884, when the principle of Prohibition was imbedded in the Constitution, by a vote of three to one.

Other States Act

But other states did not await this long vindication.

In 1852, with the territory of Minnesota, the states of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Vermont joined Maine in prohibitory legislation.

1853 was a year of feverish effort. In Connecticut the legislation passed the prohibition measure but the Governor vetoed it. In Indiana a law was enacted and declared unconstitutional. In Wisconsin the legislature voted to submit a resolution to the people, which it then neglected to do. Michigan drys carried a popular vote but with doubt concerning its constitutionality. Vermont's law was sustained by the people as was Rhode Island's.

In 1854 Connecticut joined the prohibition states; the legislature of New York passed a law, which the Governor vetoed and Pennsylvania recorded a very narrow defeat for a dry law in popular vote. The following year with the powerful support of Horace Greeley, New York passed another act by decisive majority and a dry governor signed it. When it went down under a highly technical opinion, severely questioned by eminent jurists a blow was dealt the morale of the people from which the cause in New York never recovered. The same year New Hampshire along with Delaware and the territory of Nebraska went dry, while Iowa prohibited spirituous liquors. Indiana passed another law but again lost it in the courts.

Progress Halted!

This brilliant advance was suddenly halted. From 1855 not another state enacted prohibition for a quarter of a century. Worse, the wheel of fortune began spinning backward at a rapid rate. By 1864 only Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut stood with Maine in the dry column.³

The anti-slavery reform suddenly forged to the front. Prominent abolitionists were highly sympathetic with prohibition; but one issue so filled with social and political dynamite, was all any nation could press to vital decision at a time. Nor did the period of armed conflict cover the reverses.

Internal Revenue Act of 1862

The prohibition movement emerged with a burden which still weighs it down. Prior to this period liquor for revenue had known no entrenchment in the United States. Under the pressure of need for money for the prosecution of the war not only was a direct federal tax put upon liquor, a special license tax was exacted of all dealers by the Internal Revenue Act of 1862.

Though this item was only one of many in a revenue bill said to touch almost everything and every transaction, it met great opposition.

In the Senate Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, eminent advocate of abolition, later Vice-President of the United States and author of the "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power", moved to strike out the clause licensing liquor. The debate ran at length, indicating established conviction that license

³ Massachusetts after a period in which the law was first in and then out finally repealed in 1875; Connecticut lost her prohibition status in 1872, New Hampshire and Vermont theirs in 1903.

for revenue is "permission, protection, promotion and partnership", rolled into one.⁴

But the deed was done. Within a few months, the traffic acted upon its new opportunity in the organization of the United States Brewer's Association.

Reformers Renew Attack

And yet, close upon the cessation of the cannon's roar, leaders started out to gather up the broken pieces of their movement. In 1865, they called a Fifth National Temperance Convention for Saratoga, New York. Three hundred twenty-five delegates came from twenty-five states. Presiding over the deliberations was Governor Buckingham of Connecticut. Two agencies, uniting several old ones, resulted. They promptly became one, the National Temperance Society and Publishing House, dedicated to "total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for the state." As its first President the organization commanded the leadership of the distinguished Hon. William E. Dodge. Its distinctive contribution lay in the field of publication.

Party Doctrine Takes Root

But something more was needed. Opposition to human slavery had triumphed only when it had acquired political vocal chords. Prohibition must have the same. So its friends reasoned: Being men to suit the action to the word a party could be depended upon to appear with little delay. In September, 1869, nearly 500 delegates assembled in the city of Chicago and organized the Prohibition Party. It never escaped the minority ranks but its founders considered its rise to power as quite possible. Why not? Had

⁴ A. F. Fehlandt, *A Century of the Drink Reform*, Ch. 4.

not the party which led the political action against slavery come to power in its second presidential campaign?

The Party's Contribution

If they underestimated the task of building their new party in post-bellum days, our contemporaries are quite as likely to underestimate the power it wielded. To its credit this, at least, must be said:

1. It was distinguished by the quality and calibre of its leadership.⁵
2. It made its cause permanently its debtor by contributing a body of argument and political literature⁶ unmatched in the history of the movement.
3. Its philosophy was essentially sound. The significant role of administration in the successful application of the prohibition policy must now be apparent to all. In its

⁵ Among its presidential candidates were men like: Neal Dow, Clinton B. Fiske, John P. St. John, John Bidwell, and J. Frank Hanly.

Among its state chairmen and candidates were: Wendell Phillips, William T. Wardwell, William W. Smith, the Mannierre Brothers, Francis E. Baldwin, W. G. Calderwood, Volney B. Cushing, Finley C. Hendrickson.

It had a galaxy of orators including, beside many of the aforementioned: John G. Woolley (also presidential candidate), John Sobieski, Samuel Dickie (also nat'l chm.), Lewis Beauchamp, Geo. W. Bain, Oliver W. Stewart (also state and nat'l chm. and manager of the party's two special train campaigns), Daniel A. Poling (also candidate for Governor of Ohio), Eugene Chafin, Charles Scanlon, Clarence True Wilson, Ira Landrith, and Clinton N. Howard.

⁶ It maintained for a time a powerful group of papers,—among others The Voice, established by Funk and Wagnalls; the National Prohibitionist, published by William P. Ferguson, easily the ablest editor of the Party; the Liberator, edited by James A. Tate.

emphasis upon this and the corollary—commitment of the party in power to the policy—it was on sure ground.

4. It fostered the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.⁷

Enter—The Women

By 1869, the movement was equipped for dissemination of information, through the National Temperance Society, and for political action, through the Prohibition Party. But one powerful element—the American women—remained without outlet for a growing indignation. They could be no vital part of the Prohibition Party. They had no votes. But they could dramatize their protests, turning their very helplessness to account.

The agency they created to that end—the Woman's Christian Temperance Union—is a continuing factor too widely known to require description or evaluation in these pages. Its second president, Miss Frances E. Willard, ranks easily as the foremost of the many gifted women it has produced⁸ and as one of the most eminent women of the modern world. In abilities and achievement she was matched by few men of the reform.

The national organization took place in a Convention in Cleveland in 1874. The avowed purpose was "uniting the efforts of Christian women for the extinction of intemperance." By the second national convention, held the following year, in Cincinnati, the organization declared pointedly for the necessary legislation.

⁷ Up through its ranks came such men as Fletcher Dobyns, Daniel A. Poling, Harry Warner, D. Leigh Colvin, Virgil G. Hinshaw.

⁸ The following women in the order named have held the honorable office of National President: Annie Wittenmeyer, Frances E. Willard, Lillian B. Stevens, Anna Gordon, Ella A. Boole, Ida B. Wise Smith.

Thus a brief decade after the close of the War the prohibition forces were newly aligned with three virile agencies actuated by a common purpose and with remarkable agreement as to the policies and methods by which their goal could be attained. Such condition was certain to show results. These appeared in 1880 when Kansas moved into the position occupied by Maine in the earlier drive for state prohibition.

John P. St. John, a Fearless Leader

If Maine had her Neal Dow, Kansas had her John P. St. John. Dow had been brought up by example to hit the liquor evil. St. John had learned to hate it for the shadow it had cast across his early home. From a colorful life of adventure and battle, with time out to study law and be admitted to the bar, he settled in Kansas the year the Prohibition Party was organized. Within three years he was sent to the state senate, and in 1878, on the Republican ticket but as an avowed prohibitionist, he was elected Governor of Kansas. In 1879, he recommended to the legislature a constitutional amendment but, both because he had no great faith in its early submission and because he desired some action prior to the earliest date on which it could be submitted and ratified, he asked for an immediate tightening of the admittedly loose and weak local option statute.

The liquor interests, alarmed to discover this latter about to be done by the upper House, in desperation offered to withdraw opposition to a vote for submission by the senate if the reformers would drop the proposed statutory enactment. In complete astonishment they saw both Houses vote for submission and, in due time, the people ratify an amendment for state-wide prohibition.

Governor St. John was a candidate for re-election on the

same day on which the Amendment went to the people in November, 1880. By an increased majority he was returned to office sharing the triumph of his measure and himself becoming thereby a national figure.

Four years later, when his own party failed to espouse the issue, he became the National standard bearer of the Prohibition Party. He was the ablest stump speaker the reform ever produced.

Within three years after the Kansas victory state prohibition had commanded serious support and had become a recognized issue in over twenty states. The second prohibition wave was rising.

Third Party Decides Election

All this while, the Prohibition Party was creating no little excitement. Its vote of about 10,000 for Dow in 1880 was enlarged to one of approximately 150,000 for St. John in 1884. Since the gain had come concededly chiefly from Republicans in what had been for a quarter of a century Republican territory (notably New York where the new party's vote was more than six times Cleveland's majority) St. John and his party were generally accredited with having defeated Blaine. The party vote climbed in 1888 to almost 250,000. Yet the issue had not been politically important that year, and thereafter, although sentiment against liquor was constantly rising, the party came upon difficult days. Three factors contributed to its long decline:

1. Partisan allegiance ran to new depths in the old parties in these days when Civil War memories were vivid and too often bitter.
2. In 1896 the Prohibition Party split on Free Silver and two tickets were nominated.
3. In 1893, in Oberlin, Ohio, appeared a new agency,—

The Anti-Saloon League, which became national in 1895. It was the incarnation of a growing desire to hit the liquor traffic without leaving an old-party fold.

League Method Popular

The Anti-Saloon League designates its method as "omnipartisan." The Oberlin impetus had been for local action. As its child, the League came to embody the attack upon the liquor traffic in local elections and in the support of candidates of prohibition persuasion, without regard to their party affiliation, sometimes in open opposition to commitment of party to the policy.⁹

Those who think best of its methods have called the League a body of pragmatists, pointing with pride to its ability to match the cunning of the politicians. Those who think less highly of it regret that it has been guided too little by sound governmental policy and principle and too largely by expediency, matching too nearly the crafty methods of the politician. Right or wrong, the method proved, for a considerable time, most popular.

Those who have differed most widely from the League will concede that for many years its militancy inspired hope in multitudes and brought terror to the ranks of the trade. At the peak of its power its attainment must have seemed fanciful beyond all his dreams to its founder, Howard Hyde Russell who, in these his sunset years, lives benignly as an example of unfaltering faith and serenity, which anyone may be made better for witnessing.

⁹ At the Democratic National Convention, 1920, for example, William Jennings Bryan, fighting for a plank favorable to the Eighteenth Amendment, was opposed by leaders of the League who reminded party representatives that the league did not desire party declaration for prohibition but only commitment to law enforcement.

In the public mind the real dynamo of the League was Wayne B. Wheeler. The center of its most highly publicized department, as legislative director, he won for it much of its prestige and at the same time occasioned not a little of the criticism heaped upon it.¹⁰ But he was a man of ability, pugnacity, and daring in the battle. He not only accepted, he revelled in, the fire of the enemy.

The historian will not over-look evidence that in the days of the League's greatest power, other agencies were constantly running before it, beginning battle for new fortresses in advance of it, blazing the trails it entered only after the way had been well cleared.¹¹

Its staunch supporters interpret this as a tribute to its acumen, its ability to pick the moment ripe for victory and turn it to account. Its critics call it a lack of courageous abandon, an unenviable fear of defeat.

It is not the province of these studies to judge the comparative effectiveness of the several agencies. For the moment we are more concerned with the total impact of all organizations which appeared after the Civil War. National Temperance Society, Prohibition Party, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Anti-Saloon League, to which in later years but prior to the coming of National Prohibition were added the Flying Squadron Foundation,¹² National

¹⁰ The criticism came not alone from without. Within the League, in those days, a very considerable element preferred the less spectacular ways of Ernest H. Cherrington.

¹¹ The League did not declare for National Prohibition until 1913,—more than four decades after the policy had been espoused by W.C.T.U., Good Templars and Prohibition Party, and twenty years after its own organization.

¹² Organized in 1915 and functioned for 22 years. The agency which grew out of the Flying Squadron of America campaign which was an important factor in crystallizing sentiment for state and

Temperance Bureau,¹³ and Committee of Sixty, which together with the fraternal orders, the National Reform Federation, church temperance boards, young people's societies and many others gave a total of more than thirty national temperance and prohibition organizations.

The story of their achievement can most quickly be told by a chronological list of state adoptions of prohibition:

THE PROCESSION OF THE STATES

1. Maine	1851	17. Iowa	1915
2. Kansas	1880	18. Idaho	1915
3. North Dakota	1889	19. South Carolina	1915
4. Georgia	1907	20. Montana	1916
5. Oklahoma	1907	21. South Dakota	1916
6. Mississippi	1908	22. Michigan	1916
7. North Carolina	1908	23. Nebraska	1916
8. Tennessee	1909	24. Indiana	1917
9. West Virginia	1912	25. Utah	1917
10. Virginia	1914	26. New Hampshire	1917
11. Oregon	1914	27. New Mexico	1917
12. Washington	1914	28. Texas	1918
13. Colorado	1914	29. Ohio	1918
14. Arizona	1914	30. Wyoming	1918
15. Alabama	1915	31. Florida	1918
16. Arkansas	1915	32. Nevada	1919
33. Kentucky			

national prohibition, and which included among others this imposing array of speakers: J. Frank Hanly, Oliver W. Stewart, Daniel A. Poling, Ira Landrith, Caroline E. Geisel, Charles Scanlon, Clarence True Wilson, Ella A. Boole, Eugene Chafin, Clinton N. Howard.

¹³ Directed by Edwin C. Dinwiddie, who, though he sought and received less publicity than some others, was the most effective legislative worker at the national capital. His knowledge of the Rules of Congress surpassed that of many of its members and he had unerring intuition for correct procedure. He found an able co-worker in Lenna Lowe Yost, many years legislative representative of the W.C.T.U., and his usefulness was increased by the efficiency of his associate, Laura R. Church.

*National Action*¹⁴

As the territory under state-wide prohibition increased, there remained a mounting consumption in wet states, as they were now generally called, and serious disregard of dry territory by the traffic from over state boundaries. The answer came from an aroused people in three measures which appeared in relatively quick succession.

1. *The Webb Kenyon Law*, passed in 1913, the effect of which was greatly intensified by the subsequent enactment, in 1917, of the Reed Bone Dry Law.

2. *War-Time Prohibition*. Though the agitation for War-time Prohibition in the interest of the conservation of raw material, transportation and man power, had begun almost upon our entry into World War I, full war-time prohibition was not passed until November of 1918 and did not go into effect as against manufacture until May, 1919, and against sale, until the end of June of that year.¹⁵

3. *The Eighteenth Amendment*. The resolution for submission of the Eighteenth Amendment was introduced into and passed by both Houses of the Congress by December 18, 1917. By January 16, 1919, less than thirteen months after submission it had been ratified by the requisite number of states and was proclaimed a part of the Constitution of the United States, to become operative, under its own provision, on January 16, 1920. Its adoption, therefore, but not its first day of operation, preceded the enactment of full war-time prohibition.

¹⁴ No account has been taken in these studies of numerous acts of Congress which were wayside victories for the drys,—Anti-Canteen Law, acts affecting territories, and many others.

¹⁵ The introduction of this measure as an amendment to an agriculture appropriation bill was the work of Congressman Charles H. Randall, Prohibition member from California.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Biographical sketch of Neal Dow.
2. Biographical sketch of John P. St. John.
3. Biographical sketch of Frances Willard.
4. Discuss the history and significance of federal license for revenue.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between moral and legal suasion?
2. Why was governmental action against liquor necessary?
3. When and why did federal license for revenue begin?
4. What three new organizations appeared soon after the Civil War? Describe each.
5. What opened the way for the Anti-Saloon League?
6. Describe the renewed movement for state prohibition.
7. Why did national action follow?

Chapter Eight

THE PROHIBITION ERA

Concerning the wisdom and timeliness of the Eighteenth Amendment there remains the widest divergence of opinion, but no one denies that it marked an epoch in the long, dramatic struggle to solve the liquor problem. The great expectations of its most ardent friends were matched only by the forebodings of its most vehement opponents.

I

A brief examination of the more persistent criticisms seems important.

Criticism No. 1. It was a hasty consequence of war hysteria.

When the amendment had been less than two years in effect, Felix Frankfurter, now a Justice of the Supreme Court and one who had not favored its adoption, wrote:

It is sheer caricature to convey the impression . . . that the Eighteenth Amendment came like a thief in the night. . . . Prohibition was the culmination of fifty years of continuous effort; nor did the movement lack alert, persistent, and powerful opposition. If the process by which this amendment came into the Constitution is open to question, one hardly dare contemplate the moral justification of some of the other amendments or the Constitution itself.¹

In support of the Frankfurter view one may suggest that:

1. As early as 1876 Henry W. Blair introduced into the

¹ *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept., 1923, p. 193.

House of Representatives a national prohibition amendment.

Three years prior to the submission of the Eighteenth Amendment the Hobson Resolution had secured more than a majority in the House but fell short of the required two-thirds.

2. When national prohibition came more than two-thirds of the states had adopted state-wide prohibition; 68% of the people of the country lived under local, county or state prohibition; 53% of them under the state-wide policy.

War hastened but did not cause prohibition.

Criticism No. 2. The adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment was the work of a minority.

Do public office-holders, dependent as they are upon the whim of the people for their continuance in power, often pioneer against entrenched interests?

When preponderant majorities in the legislatures support highly controverted measures around which election battles have been sharply waged, they take that action because the public is sufficiently aroused that they dare not evade it.

Out of ninety-six houses privileged to vote upon the Eighteenth Amendment, ninety-three ratified. One house in Connecticut and the two in Rhode Island chose to be "different" and did not vote at all. The aggregate vote in the senates of the ratifying states stood 84 per cent for prohibition, while in the houses, it was 79 per cent, or, of the combined vote, more than four to one. Six western states, Idaho, Kansas, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, ratified unanimously.

Criticism No. 3. The Eighteenth Amendment was sumptuary legislation and on that account objectionable.

Elaborate sumptuary laws were known among the Greeks and thrived among the Romans. France and England of the

Middle Ages seemed on the verge of surpassing the Ancients in the severity of such measures and early New England echoed their somewhat arbitrary spirit. It is pronouncedly so today. But the public has long conceded that, to a certain extent (the extent seemingly being the only debatable issue), the liquor traffic is subject to "limitation" and "regulation," notwithstanding the incidental effect of depriving some citizens of drinking whatever, whenever and wherever they choose.

Blackstone, while including regulation of diet and dress in sumptuary laws, does not so include revenue or excise laws, even when admittedly enacted in part for the curtailment of drinking and specifically he mentions drunkenness as an offense falling within the proper purview of the law.²

Advocates of prohibition urge that the policy is not directed against the consumer with the primary purpose of supervising his personal conduct but against the traffic which commercializes a substance known to be harmful and which exploits the appetites it induces or increases at society's expense.

Criticism No. 4. The Eighteenth Amendment was an infringement of personal liberty.

That it results in certain limitations upon citizens is not to be denied. In this it resembles all other laws. A limited curtailment of liberty is the price man pays for the advantages of living with his kind in an organized society.

On the proposition that the restriction of liberty which inheres in prohibition is incidental and necessary to the larger safety, advocates of the policy take their stand. In this position they have been singularly fortunate in the consistent support of the courts. Out of many fearless and sweeping

² Jones' *Blackstone*, pp. 2186; 2234; 2365.

opinions, all from the United States Supreme Court, we offer a few citations:

1. In 1847, in the License Cases in which the Justices wrote individual opinions, Chief Justice Taney said:

If any state deems the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens . . . I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating and restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether.

In his own opinion, in the same cases, Justice Grier declared:

The police power, which is exclusively in the states, is alone competent to the correction of these great evils, and all measures of restraint or prohibition necessary to effect the purpose are within the scope of that authority.

2. In 1877, came the well known case of Beer Company v. Massachusetts, in the opinion on which we read:

If the public safety or the public morals require the discontinuance of any manufacture or traffic, the hand of the legislature cannot be stayed from providing for its discontinuance by any incidental inconvenience which individuals or corporations may suffer.

3. Ten years later, in a case which like the foregoing, raised the compensation issue, *Mugler v. Kansas*, the court cited its decision of 1877 and several others in an opinion which said in part:

If . . . a state deems the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale, within her limits, of intoxicating liquors for other than medical, scientific, and manufacturing purposes, to be necessary to the peace, and security of society, the courts cannot, without usurping legislative functions, override the will of the people. . . .

This court said in *Union Co. v. Landing Co.* (111 U. S. 751) that the state could not, by any contract, limit the exercise of her power to the prejudice of the public health and the public morals. So, in *Stone v. Mississippi* (101 U.S.

814, 816) . . . the court said: "No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants."

4. In 1890, more than forty years after the License Cases, came the case of *Crowley v. Christensen*. Here are a few sentences from that "crowning decision":

It is urged that as the liquors are used as a beverage, and the injury following them, if taken in excess, is voluntarily inflicted and is confined to the party offending, their sale should be without restrictions, the contention being that what a man shall drink, equally with what he shall eat, is not properly a matter for legislation.

There is in this position an assumption of fact which does not exist, that when the liquors are taken in excess the injuries are confined to the party offending. . . .

There is no inherent right in a citizen to sell intoxicating liquors by retail. . . . As it is a business attended with danger to the entire community, it may . . . be entirely prohibited or be permitted under conditions as will limit to the utmost its evils.

In this same opinion, Justice Fields says:

Even liberty itself, the greatest of all rights, is not unrestricted license to act according to one's own will. It is only freedom from restraint under conditions essential to the equal enjoyment of the same rights by others.

The latest of these decisions came thirty years ahead of the Eighteenth Amendment, the earliest more than seventy.

Criticism No. 5. The Eighteenth Amendment wrote into the Constitution a police regulation and was therefore a departure from the functions of the fundamental law.

Here is the one argument against the amendment which many dry leaders agree has merit. But it relates only to the FORM of the amendment, and its consideration belongs elsewhere in these lessons.

II

On the positive side, what were the converging elements which produced prohibition?

1. CHRONOLOGICALLY FIRST, AND FOREMOST IN THE MEASURE OF ITS POWER, WAS MORAL PURPOSE. The conviction that the drunkard sinned against himself, his family, his neighbors and his God, and the desire to save him for the sake of all these, motivated the earliest organized temperance movements. The same motive carried into the effort directed against the traffic and was crystallized in the now famous statement of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference of 1888: "The liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin."

2. A GROWING POPULAR INTEREST IN HEALTH AND PHYSICAL PROWESS occasioned a new impetus to total abstinence. In an era of disproportionate homage for athletes, the total abstinence rule which many of them advocated and followed and the admonition of famous coaches like Stagg, Yost, and Rockne carried far.

3. CAME ALSO MASS PRODUCTION IN INDUSTRY with "efficiency" as its national shibboleth. Industrialists perceived the financial saving in sober labor.

4. THE INCREASING SOCIAL BURDEN OF THE TRAFFIC brought aid from the welfare worker, whose viewpoint was surcharged with the moral conviction of a crusader, and was supported by an intimate knowledge of the physical and social wrongs thrust upon the submerged classes through drink.

5. TO ALL THESE FACTORS—MORAL, PHYSICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL—THE TRAFFIC ADDED GREATER IMPETUS BY ITS OWN DESPERATE EFFORTS FOR POLITICAL ENTRENCH-

MENT. Crowded into smaller and smaller territory as a growing number of communities, counties, and states went dry, it ruthlessly resisted every regulation and corrupted political powers. All this further incensed the responsible citizenry.³

III

But the question persists: *Granted that these forces were at work, why was it necessary to amend the fundamental law in order to effect national prohibition?*

Ours is a government of delegated powers. The Tenth Amendment expressly reserves to the several states or to the people all powers not delegated to the central government or prohibited to the states. Prior to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Constitution did not, as since repeal it does not, grant to the federal government police power to prohibit the liquor traffic. That power could be delegated to it only by constitutional amendment.

To that end the following article was submitted and adopted:

The Eighteenth Amendment

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

³ So generally conceded as to have been referred to by Ogden Mills (never a prohibitionist) in addressing the Republican National Convention, 1932, in opposition to the proposed plank for "naked repeal". He said that prohibition came not so much because of what the drys did as because of what the liquor traffic was.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

The Time Limit

The time limit was an innovation; but it has been a part of each amendment subsequently adopted. In the case of the Eighteenth, its inclusion was a triumph of the opponents of the measure, who hoped thereby to defeat it. It was deeply resented by many friends of prohibition.

The provision is reasonable. It comports with the spirit of the amending clause in requiring an amendment to be ratified by the requisite number of states within a period brief enough to indicate that three-fourths of the states contemporaneously desire the action in question.

Prohibitionists Took Hard Road

To the credit of its advocates, prohibition came by the long and hard road of constitutional amendment. No recognized dry leader led an attack upon the Constitution because limitations upon the federal government offered a temporary barrier to national prohibition. None urged Congress to pass a measure of doubtful constitutionality, putting up to the courts the burden of casting it out. No one derided the Supreme Court because of what everyone knew would be its decision in such case. The restraints of government which the drys desired to invoke against the liquor traffic were observed by them without complaint.

Forgetting what the prohibitionists hoped it would be and

what the repealists say it was, can we reconstruct the effect of the Eighteenth Amendment when it was neither a future, nor a past, but a present, factor? That effort will occupy our next lesson.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Name ways, not mentioned in the text, in which personal liberty must yield to social welfare.
2. Look up Court Opinions cited and others on this question and bring your findings to the class.
3. Get the record of your own state in ratification.

QUESTIONS

1. Name and discuss several common criticisms of the Eighteenth Amendment.
2. What caused the adoption of National Prohibition?
3. Why was it necessary to amend the Constitution to establish national prohibition?
4. What did the amendment provide?
5. How would you estimate the importance of this action in the struggle against the liquor evil?

Chapter Nine

THE PROHIBITION ERA—RESULTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

A social phenomenon is not easily traced to its source. Careful students will guard against the assumption that any condition, appearing after the adoption of a policy, is entirely or chiefly the result of it. We must not too quickly assign to prohibition either the credit or the blame for conditions contemporary with it.

DIVISION ONE—OBVIOUS ASSETS

I. Reduction in Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages

In 1914, the last normal year under the old regime,¹ consumption per capita was 22.80 gallons. In 1920, 2.48 gallons. But very soon the opposition began a highly organized drive against the law. Ignoring handicaps in maladministration, and judging the policy, therefore, not by its potential but by its realistic results, what is the story?

1. *The Wet Estimate. The New Crusade*, hand-book of the “Crusaders” (1932) sets consumption at 1,100,000,000 gallons, or 8.96 gallons per capita.² That represents a reduction of 60% over 1914.

¹ Because in 1914 began the wave of state prohibition which put 25 new states in the dry column by 1919; benefits resulted from tighter regulations known as “bone-dry” laws and the World War introduced many abnormalities.

² *New Crusade*, p. 90.

2. *The Estimate of a Yale Professor.* In 1926, in *Prohibition at Its Worst*, Dr. Irving Fisher said:

It seems safe to conclude that the total consumption (of *absolute* alcohol) today is certainly less than 16 per cent of pre-prohibition consumption, probably less than 10 per cent, and possibly less than 5 per cent.³

3. *The Government Estimate.* The Bureau of Prohibition (Department of Justice) in an elaborate study of the sources of production of illegal liquor for the year ending June, 1930, showed a maximum available supply which indicated a minimum reduction in consumption of 67 per cent.

ALL THREE ESTIMATES AGREE THAT CONSUMPTION WAS NOTABLY REDUCED.

II. The Economic Results

The Crowther Verdict—

In a series of articles written for, and first published in, the *Ladies Home Journal*, Mr. Samuel Crowther massed the economic evidence for prohibition.

He maintained that, over a ten-year period under prohibition, the country diverted from liquor into other channels not less than fifteen billion dollars, and possibly twice that much. And that was only the beginning of the cycle of increased efficiency, higher wages, greater purchasing power, greater production and consumption, which, could it be estimated, would determine the total contribution of prohibition to the prosperity of the United States.

Dr. Fisher Testifies—

Dr. Irving Fisher concluded that prohibition, in the operation of this cycle, added six billion dollars per year to the

³ Fisher, *Prohibition at Its Worst*, Revised Edition, 1927, p. 44; statistics later defended in *Prohibition Still at Its Worst*.

stream of national income. "Prohibition," as he put it, "replaced a parasitic industry by constructive industries."⁴

Another Economist—

Paul H. Nystrom, speaking of the policy as an aid to savings, said:

..... the savings from alcoholic consumption have served exactly the same purpose, so far as other commodities are concerned, as if they had been an increase in earnings and income of not less than three to four billion dollars per year.⁵

How generally the success of prohibition was acknowledged by men of authority in the economic field was indicated by the now well-known experience of Dr. Irving Fisher in connection with the Round Table on Prohibition, held at the meeting of the American Economic Association nearly seven years after prohibition took effect. Dr. Fisher's diligent effort to provide presentation of the side opposing prohibition on economic grounds yielded not one paper.⁶

III. What of the Social Gains Under the Eighteenth Amendment?

The following testimony is from the conclusions of the Study in Operation of the Eighteenth Amendment by the National Federation of Settlements, made in 1927, and directed by Martha Bruere:

It certainly has done well by the laboring poor. . . . EDUCATION IS INCREASING. . . . There has been a long period of STEADY WORK. . . . Monday morning is just like any other day. . . . Tenement house BRAWLS ARE FEW and far between. . . . Speakeasies and blind pigs are on the west side (New York City) but the continual SATURDAY NIGHT DRUNK and Monday morning head

⁴ Fisher, *Prohibition at Its Worst*, Revised edition, p. 164.

⁵ Nystrom, *Economic Principles of Consumption*, p. 534.

⁶ *American Economic Review*, March, 1927.

are GONE. . . . ANOTHER THING THAT HAS CHANGED in our great cities since the amendment IS PROSTITUTION. Its rapid decrease marks startling and uniform changes in the past ten years. . . . ALL THINGS HOPED FOR BY THE ADVOCATES OF PROHIBITION ARE BEING REALIZED IN SOME PLACES AND. . . . EVEN WHERE THE LAW IS LEAST OBSERVED, SOME OF THEM HAVE COME TRUE.⁷

IV. The Great Intangibles

Shot through the material assets and obvious social gains of the Eighteenth Amendment were far mightier consequences. These were the Great Intangibles—the moral and spiritual values which it conserved and strengthened. To estimate the good to society accruing through the endless lives and homes saved from the blight of drink is quite beyond us. But even where the human mind cannot adequately measure or evaluate, it can sometimes perceive.

Always there is gain to the social order in its awareness of its own deliberate attack upon a major problem. Emancipation probably achieved less through the new status it gave the black man than in the new claim to self-respect it gave the whites. In the knowledge that the nation no longer debased itself by permission of human slavery it acquired a new measure of moral power.

Just so, when it rid itself of the debasement of the legalized liquor traffic, it achieved new heights of purpose and experience.

DIVISION TWO—ALLEGED LIABILITIES

I. Was There Not More Drunkenness, if Less Drinking?

In nothing do we need greater caution than interpreting statistics on arrests for drunkenness. In some places no sep-

⁷ Bruere, *Does Prohibition Work?* pp. 297-304.

arate tabulation of such arrests is kept. They are thrown into the classification of disorderly conduct. From such places when any figure is given it is a larger one of which only a portion is properly chargeable to drunkenness.

But more to the point, statistics on arrests for drunkenness are no more reflective of the number of drunks than of the attitude of the police toward them. It takes nothing but two good eyes to discern that in most places more drunks go unarrested under a wet policy than under a dry one. When things get bad enough there are too many drunks to arrest. Someone has suggested that the number of arrests may even depend upon the degree of sobriety of the policeman and his resulting capacity, or lack of it, to make the arrests.

Dr. Irving Fisher indicates that correction for population increase alone, without which no figures can have valid meaning, leaves the claim concerning increased drunkenness under prohibition neatly flattened out, whereas a reasonable correction for increased severity of police policy makes the record quite complimentary to prohibition. This conclusion is corroborated by the notable decline in institutional treatment for inebriates.⁸

II. But the Bootlegger!

Was not as much money spent for liquor, even though less was consumed? If so, can we claim an economic gain? And did not the attitude toward law inherent in the illegally conducted trade more than balance the social good?

Let us see:

A. Liquor Expenditures under Prohibition

What of the money spent for illegal liquor?

⁸ Fisher, *Prohibition Still at Its Worst*, pp. 94-97.

1. Crowther points out that, at the lowest estimate, the country was spending from 1914 to 1916, 4 per cent of the national income for drink and it may have been as much as 8 per cent. Against this he places the \$1,000,000,000 representing the highest estimate of what was spent in 1930, which was slightly more than 1 per cent of the national income for that year. He believes it may have been no more than half that.⁹

2. The prices of bootleg liquor soared. It is inevitable, therefore, that each dollar spent for it bought much less liquor than before prohibition. When a nation spends any amount for a harmful commodity it is fortunate in proportion as it gets little for its money. Incidentally, these high prices were further evidence that the supply was low and the hazards great.

3. Of further significance, under the high prices of the bootlegger, only the rich could buy. Economically, that was clear gain. When the liquor bill is carried by those of large income it represents a diversion of money which would have gone into luxuries, speculation, or savings. Such diversion is bad enough. But when the day laborer spends money for drink it always means reduction, if not obliteration, of the allowance for the family for recreation or entertainment; usually it means curtailment of purchases of food, and clothing, and often it involves actual hunger, ragged clothes, and inadequate living quarters. Such diversion is worse.

Under prohibition it was estimated that wage earners carried not more than one-fourth the nation's drink bill, whereas in the old days they carried three-fourths or more.¹⁰

4. Liquor is an incentive for no other commodities; its

⁹ Crowther, *Prohibition and Prosperity*, p. 58.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

purchase often curtails the ability to buy those previously desired.

5. Finally, diversion of money from purchase of wholesome commodities to that of drink employs fewer persons per dollar expended and utilizes raw material in smaller proportions.

a. Manufacture of all alcoholic beverages, in 1935, employed only one person for every \$12,756 worth of goods produced, whereas the summary of all industry shows one person employed for every \$6,201 worth of goods.¹¹

b. In the same year, for each dollar's worth of alcoholic beverages produced, only 11 cents went to labor and only 40 cents for material, fuel and purchased electrical energy, as compared with 16 cents for labor and 57 cents for materials, etc., for all industry including alcoholic beverages.¹¹

It is sometimes urged that although manufacture of liquor calls for few men and materials of relatively low value its equipment demands are heavy. Yet it seems doubtful that liquor requires proportionately more such than the manufacture of "transportation equipment" and that industry pays for wages, materials, fuel and power 84 cents for every dollar's worth of goods manufactured.

c. Not even the heavy employment in the distribution of liquor saves the unfavorable record of the industry. In 1935, its total employment was one out of every sixty employed by all industry or only 1.67%,¹² and a still smaller percentage of course of all employed persons including those employed in the professions, in service and on farms. Yet the liquor bill was \$2,450,000,000 or 4.12% of the entire national income of \$59,529,000,000. Since some of that income—the exact amount unknown—inevitably went for travel

¹¹ Computed from data in Statistical Abstract 1938.

¹² *Alcohol Problem Visualized*, Nat'l Forum (2nd Ed.), p. 66.

abroad, foreign investment and other items which did not contribute to employment in this country, the nation used something **MORE** than 4.12% of its total domestic expenditure for the purchase of liquor which furnished something **LESS** than 1.67% of its total employment.

B. The Bootlegger and His Attending Social Load Were Not Peculiar to the Prohibition Era.

The Pittsburgh Leader, November 15, 1900 (wet), stated "At the meeting of the retail liquor dealers meeting yesterday the statement was made that there are in Allegheny county 2,300 unlicensed liquor dealers who sell liquor in violation of the law every day in the year, Sundays and election days included."

The Chicago Record-Herald of August 10, 1911 (wet), said: "Conditions in Rogers Park are disgraceful. There are blind pigs everywhere and people in the vicinity have no trouble in buying all the beer and whiskey they want. The brewers are behind the blind pig men and fight tooth and nail to have them discharged when arrested."

In 1908 (wet) the Minneapolis papers reported a published statement of the Minneapolis Liquor Dealers' Association that—"Of its own knowledge" there were 4,000 blind pigs in Minneapolis and Hennepin County.

In April, 1930, *Plain Talk*, a militant wet magazine, claimed that a careful investigation showed that there were 3,000 speakeasies or beer flats (which are blind pigs) in Minneapolis.

That is only half the number, in proportion to population, conceded by the Liquor Dealers' Association to have existed prior to prohibition.¹³

C. Prohibition and Crime.

In 1932, reviewing crime under prohibition,¹⁴ Mr. John

¹³ Calderwood, *Prohibition Facts* 1935, p. 48.

¹⁴ *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept., 1932, p. 120 et seq.

Landesco, research director of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, said:

Gangs and syndicates did not originate with prohibition. . . . The names which loomed large in the chieftainship of the bootlegging industry were traceable to gambling and vice-syndicates which existed under dynasties of rulers or bosses for years prior to prohibition . . . the same political partiality and same likelihood to expose the violators in the enemy faction occurred under regulatory laws.

He said further:

Coincidental with national prohibition appeared other factors . . . in the increase of crime . . . dislocation of society occasioned by the Great War . . . luxury standards . . . acceleration of . . . tempo of the trend in woman's emancipation.

Nor should the automobile and the ready escape it provides the criminal be overlooked. Nor again that through the same period other nations which had no prohibition struggled with a taxing crime problem. Finally, there is far from unanimous agreement that our crime wave reached the proportions glibly assigned it. In 1923, compared to 1910, there was a decrease in total offenses and a marked decline in certain lesser ones, with an increase in certain spectacular ones like robbery, forgery, rape and homicide.¹⁵

D. The Alleged Social Loss from the Increase of Drinking Among Women and Young People.

Was there increased drinking among these two classes? If not, were there any new and significant aspects to their drinking which lent themselves to that impression?

Certainly drinking was not unknown among women and young people prior to prohibition. At least two classes of women drank:

1. The prostitutes, who counted liquor the chief ally of their trade.
2. Those who took a "social glass" or more in what was regarded as the most brilliant society.

¹⁵ Herman Feldman, *Prohibition*, p. 356 et seq.

Evangeline Booth, familiar with one kind of drinking woman, discussing the effects of prohibition, said:

Before prohibition we were always trying to straighten out half a dozen or more drink cases, and if you can imagine anything more tragic than a newly born baby lying in the arms of a drink-soaked mother your imagination out-trips mine. Today, in all our rescue homes, there are no more than half a dozen inmates whose situations are complicated by an addiction to beer, or wine, or whiskey.

Dr. J. W. Crabtree, as Secretary, in his report of the National Educational Association, February, 1930, insisted that while there may have been an increase in drinking among high school students immediately after prohibition, any such tendency was only a short and transitory phase and that drinking was growing less and less each year.¹⁶ This report was based upon data then being gathered in a survey of a million high school students.

Meanwhile the Literary Digest Poll of heads of 213 colleges, (nearly a third of such institutions in the nation), brought answers to delight the heart of the most ardent prohibitionist both in the approaching unanimity of the verdict that drinking had declined and in the interpretation of the fact.¹⁷

How then can we account for the much ado about drinking among women and young people?

1. Any drinking under prohibition lent itself to the spectacular and to overemphasis and exaggerated report. Because most people obeyed the law, users of illegal liquor were more obvious. Because of the higher standards formerly exacted of women and the ever-renewed hopes of each generation that its youth may know a greater elevation of life, that portion

¹⁶ See also, Fisher, *Prohibition Still at Its Worst*, Part 1, Ch. 2.

¹⁷ Fisher, *Prohibition at Its Worst, Revised Edition*, pp. 80-82.

of the drinking done by women and youth carried greater power to shock the public mind.

2. It may be, though it is not proved, that in proportion to the total number of drinkers, drinking women and youth increased. They had come into a day of greater freedom. That meant greater opportunity to development and accomplishment. It meant also greater freedom to share in whatever vices or deficiencies society might tolerate. Women suddenly took to smoking and there was no prohibition on which to blame that.

3. Moreover, both women and youth, conscious of their new freedom did flaunt it a bit. Heady with their liberties to choose, those who chose amiss seemed more eager, if not utterly brazen, in the exhibition of their choice.

E. Prohibition and the Attitude Toward Law. Not a few citizens of high reputation, including the heads of certain great institutions of learning, Governors of wet states, and powerful industrialists advocated open-violation of the law. That their course encouraged disrespect for law none will deny. Is that an indictment of prohibition or of those who promulgated the doctrine?

True, men have defied other laws "on principle" when compliance would have violated their consciences, and have done it with avowed purpose of paying the penalty exacted. They have even won general approval thereby. But no wet professed either conviction that man must drink to inherit the larger life here or hereafter, or a patriotic conscience that required him to drink in the interest of good citizenship. More often they professed to deplore excessive drinking and drunkenness.

They were not such stuff as martyrs are made of. There were no John Browns among them. There was no sacred right to traffic in drink which inspired men to go to the stake

in its defense. Theirs was an advocacy of violation of a law which incidentally interfered with indulging an appetite, and their position placed appeasement of that appetite, whether theirs or someone's else, above support of a constitutional provision, which had resulted in great economic and social gains.

Was the violation they helped to incite and then urged as evidence against the law an indictment of the law or a revelation of themselves?

Summary

At no time was the Eighteenth Amendment perfectly or even satisfactorily enforced. In this respect it differed little from other laws, with the difference often in its favor.

It attacked an age old evil, rooted in antiquity, entrenched in tradition, personal habit and social custom, enshrined in literature and song, established through long protection by law, through the power of vested interests, and brazen efforts at corruption. Within ten years, it reduced per capita consumption more than two-thirds, won approval of highly reputed economists and was acknowledged as having vindicated itself by a former President previously opposed to it.¹⁸ The Wickersham Commission, a body which militant drys complained had been overloaded with wets, after long hearings, submitted a report of twelve points of which the following are the first four:

“1. The Commission is opposed to repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

“2. The Commission is opposed to the restoration in any manner of the legalized saloon.

“3. The Commission is opposed to the federal or state governments, as such, going into the liquor business.

¹⁸ William Howard Taft.

"4. The Commission is opposed to the proposal to modify the National Prohibition Act so as to permit manufacture and sale of light wines and beer."¹⁹

Yet two years later, repeal was pressed by a winning presidential candidate and before the end of 1935, the repeal amendment had been submitted and ratified by thirty-six states. How can we reconcile the results of prohibition with such course? The answer to this question must be considered in the following lesson.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Read and summarize the Crowther Articles (Prohibition and Prosperity).
2. Discuss the problem of drink among the low income groups.
3. Discuss the Wickersham Commission. Why appointed? By whom? For what? With what result?

QUESTIONS

1. How did the Eighteenth Amendment affect the consumption of drink?
2. What were the economic results of prohibition?
3. Discuss prohibition and crime.
4. Discuss prohibition and the bootlegger.
5. Why did one hear so much of drinking women and youth in prohibition days?

¹⁹ The members were not unanimous in all conclusions and several filed individual reports.

Chapter Ten

REPEAL—THE WHY, THE HOW, AND THE RESULTS

The swift rejection of prohibition, without even the illusion of a substitute, is to be charged no more to the shrewd, unscrupulous attacks of its enemies, than to the blundering impotence of its friends. Each seemed the perfect complement to the other.

DIVISION ONE—WHY REPEAL?

I. The Shortcomings of the Advocates of Prohibition

A. Their Too Idyllic Dreams

Naively they underestimated the willingness of the liquor traffic to defy the Constitution. When the ugly reality of that defiance was thrust upon them their reactions were of two kinds.

Some dreamed on. Blinded by the brilliance of what they had attained, they refused to see the beginnings of disaster.

Others, stunned and disheartened, could see nothing but ruin.

B. Both Attitudes Were Freighted With Danger

The readiness to create agencies, shift emphasis and adopt new methods, which so admirably marked the movement during its earlier progress, was strangely lacking as it approached the hour of its great decline.

No new and enduring organization of first magnitude came into the field between 1920 and the repeal crisis.¹ More than thirty national dry agencies rendered loyal service. Yet their combined efforts were hopelessly inadequate, notably because:

1. Each represented, at best, only a segment of the dry electorate and there was no effective coordination of their efforts.

2. They were not implemented for local action in support of the national policy. Only the W.C.T.U. had widely scattered local units. By its own choice it is a *Women's* organization. Civic phases of the battle call for organization of both men and women.

C. Let Down in Local Activity

A natural consequence of the lack of local organization was a further slackening in acceptance of local responsibility. With a national law it was convenient to regard Washington as responsible, and Washington seemed a long way off.

Waning local activity inevitably meant lessened state enforcement. In the problems arising from lack of support by state governments came the greatest incentive for national political leaders to retreat from their commitment to the Eighteenth Amendment.

D. Handicaps in the Government Set-up

In the beginning enforcement was seriously handicapped through its being placed in the Department of the Treasury. The reasons for this action were two:

1. Previously, the chief concern of the federal government in relation to the liquor traffic had been the collection of revenue. A body of revenue regulations had grown up in

¹ Only National Organizations with general program and of permanent character are here thought of. The Allied Forces for Prohibition waged a great campaign 1931-'32 but only the youth program continued.

the Treasury. It was the course of least resistance to enlarge the responsibility of the department to include enforcement of prohibition.

2. The drys liked it that way. The Treasury, just then, was a very arid spot. William Gibbs McAdoo was Secretary, and Daniel C. Roper, Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Both were militant drys.

But the evidence gathering authorities were in the Treasury and the prosecuting authorities in the Department of Justice. That was not so good.

Andrew Mellon to Power

Further, in no time at all, the ardently dry regime in the Treasury was only a memory. In McAdoo's stead came Andrew Mellon. Although some dry spokesmen offered no opposition and gave strange reasons for their course, bitter criticisms, some of which seem less than fair, never ceased to rise from prohibitionists from the hour of Mellon's appointment.

One may grant that he probably did as well as he knew. But, though he was a very great Secretary of the Treasury, at this point, he could not be expected to know enough. He who had made a fortune out of the liquor business would not likely be sensitive to its menace or suddenly acquire that commitment to its annihilation desirable in one responsible for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Under Herbert Hoover, to the advantage of prohibition and, no doubt, to the relief of the Secretary of the Treasury, enforcement was transferred to the Department of Justice. But it was belated action.

E. The Form of the Eighteenth Amendment

Finally, the form of the Eighteenth Amendment was a drag on the policy. Many who obeyed the law complained

that by its adoption a police regulation was written into the Constitution which is a frame-work of government, not an instrument through which properly to institute police regulations.

That contention seems to this writer *the one important tenet of the wets which had real merit*. Everything possible under the Eighteenth Amendment, and more, would be attainable under an amendment not susceptible to this criticism —an “enabling amendment,” granting to Congress power to prohibit, without writing into the Constitution the policy of government toward the liquor traffic.

If under such an amendment a majority of the Congress and a cooperating President could alter the policy, in final analysis, the same was true under the Eighteenth Amendment. Enforcement depended upon the proper use of the legislative power of the Congress and the administrative power of the executive department. These in turn depended upon an alert, powerful and expressed public opinion in support of prohibition. The moment public officials no longer felt the threat of such opinion the Congress and the President opened the way for the return of beer in defiance of the Eighteenth Amendment.²

An amendment, tacitly recognizing that it is effective only in so far and so long as a vigilant public keeps in Washington a Congress and an Administration concerned with its enforcement, would prove a greater impetus toward real prohibition

² Contrary to popular impression, the Beer Bill of 1933 did not directly legalize beer. Such an act would have stood on far too insecure ground. Its constitutionality would have been too difficult to defend in the courts. The repealists really circumvented the constitution at this point. They withdrew the penalties, leaving Federal courts with no jurisdiction covering such violations. The measure was in defiance, rather than in support, of the Eighteenth Amendment.

than one seeming to settle the problem with finality and thereby acting as a soporific.

By over-confidence, lack of adequate organization, want of perception of the demands of the new day, and by support of blundering governmental policies, prompted by expediency, the friends of national prohibition contributed to repeal. But not even this merciless admission of their short-comings can improve the character of the opposition which would have tested a vastly abler dry command.

II. The Opposition

A. Its Elements

1. The Old American Liquor Interests, who had enjoyed large income from the traffic.

2. Foreign Liquor Interests.

The loss of market sustained by foreign liquor dealers was not accepted with that due respect which should be accorded the policies of a sovereign power by the citizens of another but friendly nation.

3. Victims of Appetite.

Some of these satisfied their thirst through the bootlegger. More did not. Those who did found it expensive, inconvenient and uncertain. All whose attitude was determined by their desire for drink wished a more accessible supply without the stigma and risk of patronizing the lawless trade.

4. Tax-Dodgers.

Certain persons of great wealth became hopeful that a restored liquor traffic might shift the burden of taxation to the drinker, making it possible to reduce and possibly eliminate income and corporation taxes. Of all the elements arrayed against the Eighteenth Amendment these became the most daring and effective.³

³ Dobyns, *The Amazing Story of Repeal*, pp. 23-26.

5. Those Opposed on Grounds of Legal Theory.

Some rested their opposition upon a theory of proper procedure, and by virtue of their consistent support of enforcement, earned the right to be respected as a group apart from other elements of the opposition.

B. Highly-Financed

75% of the vast fund of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment came from 53 contributors. Notable in the list were names suggestive of well known alcoholic beverage companies. In five months preceding the election of 1932 the AAPA spent \$300,000 of which more than \$117,000 came from a single family.⁴

C. Methods Unscrupulous

A single case will illustrate. The itemized report of the AAPA covering the David I. Walsh campaign in 1926 shows expenditure of \$74,000, with payments ranging from \$100 to \$2000 for getting out the vote. Fletcher Dobyns comments:

When \$74,000 is dumped into a state on the three days preceding an election, and reported as given in large sums to the organization and individuals to "get out the vote" the merest tyro in politics knows that it represents a wholesale purchase of votes.⁵

D. Use of the Press

No more powerful ally was available and none was more effectively used in behalf of repeal than the press. Whether an innocent tool or the most deliberate advocate of repeal, its line upon line, precept upon precept of wet propaganda, gathered the momentum of an avalanche. The degree to which a paper had been captured was discernible first, in its editorial policy, and second, by the measure of its distortion

⁴ Ibid. p. 11, also p. 124.

⁵ Ibid. p. 67.

of facts in head-lines. But in fairness to the press it must be conceded that the wets had "all the breaks" from the news angle through the sensational nature and resulting news value of their very lawlessness.

Moreover, the liquor forces were clever beyond description in making their activity news, as in their enlistment of women of society whose names insured headlines and who, strangely enough, were from the same families whose men were pouring their money into the AAPA.⁶ That men of the calibre of Senator Wadsworth accepted the creations of ghost-writers to mouth or sign them as their own, gives further indication of the boldly executed plan to flood editors with materials under impressive "by-lines."⁷

And finally, there was the direct assault upon the editorial fortress in letters asking editorial aid in interpreting some well timed and well staged events and in the pressure of men of wealth to influence periodicals.⁸

Aside from all this, it is surely probable that some newspapers were influenced by the knowledge of prize advertising accounts which would be available the moment the traffic become legal.

III. The Depression

Playing into the hands of the liquor forces and accentuating the shortcomings of partial enforcement came a powerful factor which neither wets nor drys could or would have invoked. Economic pressure was crowding in. People were torn from old moorings. Memories were short. They forgot both that great prosperity which came with prohibition

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 105 *et seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 14, 58.

and that depression that struck Europe in advance of the United States.

About everything, it became the fashion to say: "It couldn't be worse. Anything for a change." Repealists were ready to promise the sun, moon and stars. Jobs, the sweetest of all promises! Revenue! Anything! Everything! Many who in normal times would have challenged these promises joined the clamor for repeal. Others, in larger numbers, stood mutely by, content to let it happen.

DIVISION TWO—THE HOW OF REPEAL

I. It Came by Political Action

Many friends of prohibition disavowed need for committing political parties to the policy. But its opponents were not hesitant about asking commitment to its destruction. The Republican Convention of 1932 adopted a plank calling for the submission of a substitute amendment, (which would allegedly retain the gains of prohibition, but which was not in fact drawn) and the convention took no position on the merits of the issue. It declared only that the people should have a right to pass upon the question.

In his Speech of Acceptance, President Hoover went further, committing himself to support the adoption of a substitute amendment which must include certain safeguards, but offering still no draft of the proposed measure. Two factors impelled him toward this position:

1. The problem arising where wet local and state officials were using the presence of federal officers as a leverage for furthering their commerce in graft. Anxious to collect "hush money" for their protection to the violator, they customarily tipped off federal agents only in the cases of those who refused to pay the "protection fee."

2. The conviction that his party would not win in an out and out defense of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Democratic Convention adopted a platform declaring for naked repeal. Flying to Chicago, Candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt announced: "From this hour the Eighteenth Amendment is doomed."

The drys were deeply dejected. Some insisted there was a difference:

1. Hoover had opposed submission of an amendment without a substitute. Believing him sincere in his reservations, however mistaken, and confident that no amendment could be drawn which would meet his qualifications Hoover drys hoped through his election for delay and possible defeat of submission.

2. Roosevelt stood for return of beer prior to repeal. Hoover opposed that. The return of beer would defy the Constitution and speed repeal. Hoover's election would mean that all would await the drafting and submission of the new amendment. At the worst, that would give some time to gather the forces and organize for battle.

But the Hoover position was too weak to hold millions of drys, while Roosevelt was clearly entitled to the support of those who made repeal the first issue. Nor did he disappoint them. Early in his term Postmaster General Farley had urgent business in the dry South. His visits coincided strangely with state campaigns on repeal. He urged support of national repeal as an obligation to the administration. It was party politics to the nth degree.

II. It Came by Convention System

The validity of such submission is not in question; but it was unfortunate that its first use should involve so highly controverted an issue and for the sake of establishing prec-

edents, it would have been well had every debatable act been brought before the courts. The certainty of the total result and the poverty of dry treasuries precluded such tests.

III. It Came by Minority Action

A dispassionate analysis of the repeal vote shows that while the deliberately created and powerfully propelled propaganda machine captured fortresses of wealth, social position, publication and political influence, and while by their aid it swept on to technical triumph in repeal and to realistic victory in the deluge that followed, nonetheless, it left the great mass of the American voters unenlisted.

It polled impressive proportions of those who voted; but of the total available vote it received an unimpressive minority.

In no sense does the small vote for repeal reflect upon its validity. It merely suggests that there was no spontaneous uprising against prohibition. Huge investment, clever propaganda, and bold appeal to cupidity had won some, confused others, and stunned still more.

The inadequately organized drys went into action to close the barn door after the horse was stolen. A minority, militant, organized, supervised by men of acumen and backed by fabulous financial resources marshalled its strength at the ballot box and WON.

And winning they wrote into the Constitution the

Twenty-first Amendment

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any state, territory or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by convention in the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

DIVISION THREE—REPEAL RESULTS

Repeal may be adjudged to have had some fanatical friends—even as did prohibition and woman suffrage—who promised too much too soon. But it is only fair to expect that, within reasonable time, it approach some, if not most, of the goals on promise of which it was adopted.

It was said:

1. *Repeal Will Bring Enormous Revenue.*

In Pittsburgh, October 19, 1932, Presidential Candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt, said:

.... A source of new revenue amounting to several hundred million dollars will be available. I refer specifically to a Federal tax on beer . . . (p. 810, Vol. 1, *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt.*)

In Baltimore six days later he said:

I favor the modification of the Volstead Act. This is a way to divert three hundred million dollars or more . . . into the Treasury of the United States. (Ibid. pp. 839-40.)

Beer alone was to yield the first year \$300,000,000 or more.

Not until 1941 did federal revenue on beer approach that figure. In 1934 it was only \$168,959,585. The revenue has been large but it falls far short of the promises. Indeed federal revenue for ALL alcoholic beverages in 1934 was only \$258,911,332—less than Mr. Roosevelt promised from beer alone. (Alcohol Tax Unit, Bureau Int. Revenue.)

2. *Repeal Is Necessary to Balance the Budget.*

Some went so far as to say it *would* balance the budget.

The following is the record of the accumulating National Deficit under repeal:

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Budget Deficit</i>	<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Budget Deficit</i>
1934	\$2,895,529,204.50	1938	1,384,160,931.37
1935	3,209,408,109.76	1939	3,542,267,954.95
1936	4,549,688,806.55	1940	3,611,065,037.71
1937	3,148,568,518.83	1941	5,103,417,971.89

3. Repeal Will Reduce Taxes.

It is sufficient that the tax-payer examine his own tax-receipts, should his memory fail him. The record of high taxes in recent years can hardly have escaped the most superficial observer.

4. Repeal Will Give Great Impetus to Employment.

The Department of Labor offers no data on unemployment prior to repeal later than 1930. In April of that year, its *Bulletin 616* reports a total of 3,187,647 employables out of work, of which number the unemployment of 758,585 was regarded as temporarily so. In April, 1940, there were 8,600,000 unemployed, while in the same month 1941, notwithstanding the defense boom, there were 6,600,000. These estimates include those employed on emergency work projects. (Data Prepared by WPA, Issued by Dept. of Labor.) Yet the liquor traffic does create jobs. In 1935, one out of every 60 employed in industry was employed by it, most of them in sales and distribution. (p. 66 *Alcohol Problem Visualized*, Nat'l Forum.) Under repeal, as under prohibition, unemployment is played upon by worldwide economic currents unrelated to the liquor issue. But the question intrudes: Does employment of large numbers in the drink trade result in gain or loss in total employment?

5. Repeal Will Furnish a Market for the Farmer's Grain.

In 1935, the liquor industry used 1.4 per cent of the grain produced by the American Farmers. (p. 66, *Alcohol Problem Visualized*, Nat'l Forum, quoting Alcohol Tax Unit.)

6. *Repeal Will Reduce Drinking and Bring True Temperance.*

This promise gets to the crux of the problem. Were it kept, many another wide of the mark might be forgotten and forgiven. But observe:

- a. Increased Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages.
1930—8.96 gal. per capita (wet estimate, see Part II, lesson Four, this series.)
- 1940—13.60 gal. per capita. (W. G. Calderwood, *Temperance Facts*, p. 6.)
- b. The 400,600 retail outlets for tax-paid liquor (July, 1941), exclusive of those licensed to sell only medicinal liquors. (Treasury Dept., Bur. Int. Rev. Release Sept. 11, 1941.)
- c. Arrests for Drunkenness nearly doubled. (Amer. Bus. Men's Foundation, 1941.)
- d. Deaths from alcoholism 41% higher than during first seven years of prohibition. (*Ibid.*)
- e. Large place of "drinking drivers" in every report of revocation of licenses.
- f. Advertisements in prominent daily papers of "cures for alcoholism." Those who pay for them must know there is a growing harvest of alcoholics. They did not so waste their money during prohibition. Most of them closed their doors.

7. *Repeal Will Safe-guard American Youth.*

- a. In April, 1936, as compared with 1932 (dry), the Northwestern Life Insurance Company reported an in-

crease of 183% in rejections of applicants under thirty because of indulgence in drink.

b. The Juvenile Protective Association (Chicago) reports conditions which should stab us wide awake. In February, 1935, it said:

Boys and girls under age were patrons . . . children witnessed appalling scenes of intoxication and debauchery. Again, covering 1938 and 1939 under the title: *The Tavern in Community Life*, the Association reported:

Investigated since repeal 7,532 taverns . . . violating laws 6,741 . . . Involving Juveniles 2,410 . . . Complaints of small children performing in taverns . . . of liquor sales to high school boys and girls . . . fathers spending their earnings for liquor and gambling . . . mothers keeping their rendezvous at taverns . . . prostitutes. . . . Retail liquor places attract a far greater number of patrons than any other places of recreation in the city. . . . Chicago has over 9,000 retail liquor places with an annual patronage of 30,000,000.

8. *Repeal Will Banish the Bootlegger.*

a. Ray Tucker, writing in *Collier's* Dec. 22, 1934, elaborately supported his assertion: Repeal is one year old and the Bootlegger is doing nicely.

b. Mr. Joseph H. Choate, Jr., Director Federal Alcohol Control Administration, announced that the stills seized in 1934 had a greater capacity than the legal distilleries (in *American Magazine*, Jan., 1935).

c. The Attorney General's report for 1937 said: "The number of commitments for violation of federal liquor statutes has reached . . . an all time high."

d. August 17, 1938, the *New York Times* carried a story for which the headlines read: "103 Indicted Here in Big Liquor Ring; 6 Policemen Held; \$1,800,000 Tax Fraud to Bootleg Alcohol Combine; Treasury Aides Accused; Six named as Bribe-takers."

9. Repeal Will Reduce Crime.

a. Early in 1936, Stanford Bates, Director of Federal Prisons, was saying that prison population had increased 25% during the first fiscal year of repeal, that relief "expected" from repeal had not come and that more prisons should be built. (U.P. Dispatch, Jan. 4, 1935.)

b. In June, 1937, J. Edgar Hoover said: "Today there are in America over 4,300,000 criminals. . . . National crime bill estimated at \$15,000,000,000 each year." (*Vital Speeches*, Vol. 3; pp. 559-62.)

c. In May, 1939, he was using the same alarming estimate of our crime bill. (*Ibid.* Vol. 5; p. 505.)

10. Repeal Will Not Return the Saloon.

But it did. Wherein do the saloons reported by the Juvenile Protective Association differ from the "old" ones? And what of those operated under newer names? Is their liquor less intoxicating?

11. Repeal Will Open the Way for Constructive Solution.

We are still waiting for the first new, constructive suggestion from the repealists. They seem quite content if only the traffic encounter the least possible interference.

In 1940 a conservative estimate of expenditures for "legal" liquor only was \$3,284,898,266.96 (Amer. Bus. Men's F'tion). The expenditures for public and private education, both elementary and higher, totalled in 1938, \$2,993,629,000. (Statistical Abstract 1940.)

A policy under which the nation spends more for liquor than for all education cannot be said to have solved the drink problem.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

1. Investigate and report on repeal conditions in your community.
2. Review Dr. Paul Studenski's Investigation on Drinking Conditions Among Youth.
3. Discuss the various elements which set the stage for repeal.

QUESTIONS

1. Wherein did the friends of prohibition contribute to its repeal?
2. What elements constituted the opposition to prohibition?
3. Discuss the methods of the repealists.
4. Do you consider repeal a success?
5. Do you consider the liquor issue settled? Why?

Chapter Eleven

THE TREATMENT INDICATED

Confronted with a liquor problem alike persistent and urgent, what treatment is indicated? Any therapy of promise must include:

1. *Widespread Knowledge* concerning:

- a. The nature of alcohol and its effects upon the drinker.
- b. The nature of the liquor traffic and its effects upon society.
- c. The nature and merits of the several governmental policies thus far employed.

2. *Intellectual concern* for a proper correlation and interpretation of vital data.

3. *Courage* to act upon established facts, decisions being governed by:

- a. Principle rather than expediency.
- b. Social responsibility rather than personal convenience.
- c. Moral consequences rather than material profit.
- d. Long run reward rather than temporary acclaim.

4. *Organization* adequate to the maintenance of intelligent support of whatever public policy an articulate, informed electorate may at last adopt.

Personal Decisions to Be Made

Everyone must determine his attitude toward the liquor problem:

I. As Shown by His Personal Conduct

A. The question comes: SHALL I DRINK? Even a little? In moderation¹—why not?

1. Alcohol is habit-forming.
2. Science cannot determine in advance which of the "first-drinkers" will become drunkards.
3. All who drink run some risk of being caught in the grip of appetite.
4. The example and invitation of those who drink "a little" often entices into the habit those who come to drink heavily.
5. A very little alcohol may result in measurably lessened control, measurable decline in accuracy and in promptness of reaction.
6. Where can society risk the delayed reaction and lowered skills of the moderate drinker? In the surgeon? the aviator? the taxi-driver? the soldier? the typist? the factory worker? Where?
7. Heavy drinkers are all recruited from those who drink. Never from the ranks of those who refuse to take the first drink.

Today as never before: total abstinence is the safe rule.

B. To many, the question comes: SHALL I SELL LIQUOR? Many keepers of restaurants, markets and drug stores plead that their businesses could not be maintained without it. Yet businesses of all kinds do flourish without it. The chain of markets reputed to do the largest business in the Los Angeles area refuses to sell alcoholic drinks. In the loop district of Chicago is a restaurant which boldly displays on its awning "No Liquor." Its two spacious floors are crowded.

¹ See: *This Moderate Drinking*, Harper's, March, '31.

He who makes his commodity and service otherwise attractive can afford to announce that at his sign one is free from the nuisance of liquor. But we shall not solve the problem until a growing number place conviction above the dollar, being unwilling, on principle, to profit from an indefensible trade. Each must decide whether he is sufficiently elevated of mind and spirit to belong to that number.

II. In Civic and Social Relations

A. Society has a duty toward the victims of drink.

So long as by public policy society makes drink accessible and inviting, it should carry the resulting load without complaint—unless at its own stupidity. The burden will include hospitalization and treatment for alcoholism,² care of the alcoholic insane and the children of alcohol-induced poverty. These should be provided at public expense for needy cases by a social order which deals so futilely with drink as to face an increasing alcohol problem.

Yet alone, all such efforts are like ministering to the homeless and starving in flood areas, while ignoring the fundamental business of flood control.

B. The government must have an attitude toward the drink traffic.

Should the attitude of the government be one of encouragement? If not, can it rightly sanction the traffic by granting permission to individuals or public agencies to engage in it? It prohibits trade in opium on the ground that it is a dangerous commodity. But alcohol, like opium, is a habit-forming drug, a poison, and potently dangerous to society. By what reason, do we prohibit the one, and for a financial

² Into the study of alcoholism we cannot enter. The ambitious reader will be interested in data presented and references offered in the various issues of the *Quarterly Journal of Studies in Alcohol*.

consideration, license the other? Surely not upon any pretense of the latter's negligibility.

Many insist that we should borrow a system from abroad. Usually they mention two:

1. *The Swedish System*,³ which is something of an evolution and is distinguished by two constituent plans,—the Gothenburg and the Bratt.

The Gothenburg has had an involved history. It grants licenses for on-sale of spirits to a public welfare society which in turn may farm some of them out to individuals. Profits go to the state. The system does not touch beer or "off-sale spirits."

The results had been so unsatisfactory that at the turn of the century a prohibition movement had gathered real momentum. To forestall it the Bratt System was introduced, dealing with off-sale of spirits through a monopoly which can sell only to persons with a permit-book. The law restricts no beer or wine of less than 3.2% content by weight.

Under the Bratt System consumption of absolute alcohol fell from 4.4 liters per capita in 1913 to 3.1 liters in 1936,—not a very startling reduction. Meantime, the system seems to hold no power consistently to move on to the solution of the problem, no reduction being achieved after the first few years.

Finally, such favorable tendency as exists is attributable less to the inherent merits of the System than to other factors:

a. The integrity with which the System is administered is remarkable and compliments the Swedish people.

b. 95% of the rural communities in which two-thirds of the nation's people have prohibition of distilled liquors. The

³ For data on this system great indebtedness is acknowledged to the study by Dr. Robert Hercod, published in the *Voice*, Dec., '38.

Gothenburg and Bratt Systems are therefore operative in territory in which only a minority of the people live. Yet the number of permit-holders is steadily rising.

c. An educational campaign of worthy dimensions has been in operation.

d. The population of the country is less than that of New York City and is of remarkable racial, linguistic and religious homogeneity—preponderately rural and un-industrialized. Dr. Robert Hercod doubts that the system would be practicable even in his tiny Switzerland.

2. *The Canadian System.*⁴ Correctly speaking, there is no Canadian System. The dominion government has been loath to act in this field, though it is important that it should, because the provincial governments have only delegated powers. Canada had dominion prohibition only for a brief time during the first World War, while its provincial prohibition was only partial.

Tiny Prince Edward Island has consistently maintained prohibition since 1902. All the other provinces have systems in which privately manufactured spirits are sold by government stores in sealed packages for off-the-premises consumption, and in which other provisions vary widely.

These systems do not greatly inconvenience the thirsty. With a population of 11,120,000 (1937) Canada has: 7,757 retail outlets for alcoholic beverages, of which only 611 are government stores, while 5,534 sell for consumption on the premises. (Figures for 1940.)

⁴ The data on Canada comes to the writer from Mr. Ben H. Spence, recognized on both sides of the boundary as an able student and leader in the field. See his pamphlet: *Canada's Liquor Problem*; also his book, *Quebec and the Liquor System*; also, Spence, *Prohibition Legislation in Canada*, *Annals, Amer. Acad.*, Sept., 1923.

Meanwhile, consumption is rising.⁵ In 1923, the per capita consumption of all alcoholic beverages—exclusive of bootleg products—was 4.235 gallons. In 1938, it was 6.677 gallons. In 1940, notwithstanding the extreme war exigency the consumption of and outlay for liquor increased till both reached an all time high. The national liquor bill for that year was \$203,369,872.

Further, Mr. Ben H. Spence reports that bootlegging, for which there had previously been more convictions under "control" than under "prohibition," showed its purpose to keep pace with legal consumption by increasing 30 per cent.⁶ (Comparing 1933 and 1940.)

Canada enjoys a high reputation for respect for law. She has no divided jurisdiction and her courts are seldom congested. She should, and probably does, get from her "liquor control" the maximum results possible under the system.

3. *Monopolies in the States.* What is perhaps more to the point, one-third of our States now operate huge liquor monopolies. And with what results? An aggregate profit of \$58,046,000. But to direct this amount into state treasuries the people of these states spent the sum of \$264,533,000 for spirituous liquors. (Release, Nov. 10, 1941, Bur. of Census, Dept. of Commerce.) This represents an average expenditure per family in all sixteen states of \$26.22, or \$6.90 per capita.

One detects no solution of the drink problem in results like that.

4. *Other suggested solutions.* Two theories—they can

⁵ Mr. Spence reports that figures for 1941, not as yet correlated for publication as these lessons go to the publisher, show an enormous increase over the previous year. In fact they establish an all time high.

⁶ See also: George Arnold, *The Canadian Magazine*, Oct., 1937.

hardly be called systems—are occasionally urged.

a. *Eliminate the profit motive*, by which it is usually meant only to eliminate private profit, which resolves itself into a question of government ownership and operation of manufacture as well as distribution.

It has never been shown that alcohol is less intoxicating when made and sold by the whole people or that profits from an indefensible business become less corrupting when appropriated by the public treasury. Moreover such government sanction lends a pseudo-respectability with which it is far from desirable to clothe the traffic. Socialization of good things is still a highly debatable policy. Shall we encumber our government and entrench our vices by socializing them?

b. *Prohibit hard liquor; legalize beer and wine.* Hard liquor is the mischief maker.

This was a favorite contention when the traffic sought an entering wedge against prohibition. It will loom again, if and when another prohibition movement appears under way. But the facts are all against it. Despite higher alcoholic content, hard liquor accounts for the smaller part of the absolute alcohol consumed. Moreover, as William Howard Taft once urged: Distinction between beer and wine on the one hand and hard liquor on the other is wholly impracticable from the standpoint of enforcement.

Which Way?

What road, then, do we take?

By its swift revival of old abuses, the liquor traffic began early to prepare the way for its return to outlawry. Notwithstanding the lethargy of the people, the entry of the United States into the war would seem a further and sure impetus toward such ultimate outcome. A struggle which, at the very outset, imposes conversion of the automobile

industry, rationing of rubber goods and of sugar, will finally throw into superlative relief the smallest material, not to say human, waste. As we drink deeper of total war, resentment against the havoc of the liquor traffic can scarcely fail to rise.

Moreover, when finally the conflict is over and we stagger under a debt which will bend our backs for—who cares to say how long?—we shall not be able so jauntily to dismiss, as we have done in these recent escapists years, the economic and moral load of the drink traffic.

Is someone asking: Does return of liquor outlawry mean NATIONAL prohibition? Had the war been averted this writer would be answering that question after this manner:

If states, returning to the dry column, receive protection from the federal government against a deluge of liquor from near-by wet territory (which protection the government has both the power and the obligation to give under the twenty-first amendment) NATIONAL prohibition may be indefinitely deferred. Dry states, if protected in their policy may well show great forbearance toward states which prefer to keep the traffic. With some states swimming in alcohol and others demonstrating effective prohibition, the latter may comfortably risk vindication of their policy. But if states espousing prohibition find the government unconcerned or impotent to use its authority for their protection, an indignant people will surely surge toward national action.

The foregoing, let it be noted, is what we might have said before Pearl Harbor. In a post-war life which we have little capacity even to imagine, but which will surely be shorn of some luxuries we have grown to mistake for necessities, and in which our sense of values may undergo many sharp revisions, it may easily prove imperative to be less tolerant toward states which would squander their resources on liquor. The price of such profligacy may be really

regarded as imposing too great a burden upon a nation weighed down with the task of rebuilding its world.

Organization

If and when the forces opposing the liquor traffic are again in the ascendancy, adequate organization to support and maintain their policy must not be overlooked. Among the requisites of effective organization the following suggest themselves:

1. *A broad base*, attainable only through definite enlistment of citizens in wide-spread, functioning, local units.
2. *A democratic structure*—one in which the power comes from the bottom up.
3. *A comprehensive program of education.*
4. *A political program*, designed to further the right attitude of government toward the traffic and the commitment of all parties to enforcement of law which at any time exists and to the enactment of improved measures as needed.
5. *A basis of membership* which will invite the union of all citizens of common interest in this single cause without regard to differences of race, creed, party or sex.

The indicated road invites no weakling. (Few interesting roads do. Those of highest achievement, *never*.) At certain levels it will be lined with ribald crowds ridiculing the life kept clean through abstinence. At others, rows of cynics scorning the "dreamers", the "Utopians", the "Crusaders" who fancy they can cleanse the social order of this leprous thing. Always there will be those grown weary, unable to sustain their will to win. Always too, the recurring engagements, ruthless attacks and counterattacks, from the organized trade and its hangers-on. Hard distances will be covered only to be lost and recovered, again and again. No peaceful road through a valley of contentment this.

But at the summit for any people who can endure its rugged, exacting way, waits the high reward—*sobriety*.

SUGGESTION

Instead of the usual questions and assignments substitute a Panel Discussion covering the field of this lesson, allowing time for questions and suggestions from the whole class, the teacher taking care that all important points are included.

Chapter Twelve

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE TASK

In the intricate task of solving the liquor problem, what is the function of the Church? This question brings us back to the point of our departure. After a considerable study of the story of alcohol, we are confronted once more with the unchanging purpose of Jesus to transmit LIFE—ABUNDANTLY. We see the church, on the one hand, as the only institution wholly and solely concerned with the transmission of life as He proclaimed and achieved it. On the other hand, we see beverage alcohol, a basic element in the pattern of thought, habit, traffic and environment which, on wide scale destroys life, on vaster one threatens it, and in bewildering proportion limits it to skimpy dimensions and oppressive conditions. Advancing along many roads alcohol hurls its challenge to Christian thought and action. How shall it be met?

Should the Church, as such, lead the political phases of the battle? Should lobbyists appear in Washington and at state capitals demanding this or that law in the names of their several communions? In a nation which insists that the Church be free of state control are we to seek ecclesiastical domination of state policies? The answer appears to be in the negative, though the point at which a proper influence merges into offensive domination is sometimes difficult to discern.

Barring questionable methods, must the Church stand impotent before a mighty wrong? Since repeal, she has appeared so to do. Judged by whatever test,—the personal habits of her members, their business relation to liquor, her conscience concerning the social load drink entails, the diminished frequency and strength of editorials in the religious press, or commitments from the pulpit—the Church has been on prolonged vacation from the battle. There may be reasons. Certainly there are excuses. But the facts stand.

Should she fail to throw off her lethargy in time to articulate and stimulate the next vital move against the traffic, the loss will be severe both to the prestige of the Church and the well-being of society. The victory over the liquor traffic, or any other evil so pregnant with power to destroy, will need the sustaining strength of moral conviction, potently felt, clearly expressed and fearlessly implemented. And for all her faults, the centuries have known no agency to compare with the Church for instilling and safeguarding moral conviction. In that mighty mission she has enjoyed her highest prestige when asking most for the Christ who gave all.

But how may the Church resume her honored role in relation to this problem without “stepping out of character”? Her function at this point may be said to be three-fold: preventive, corrective, and prophetic. There are, to be sure, twilight zones between each two of these and the third plays powerfully upon both the others.

I. Her Preventive Program

The Church has the duty to build men who will move the stumbling-stones, and meanwhile, to warn against them the little ones who come with hurried feet and eyes un-

trained for their detection. Preventive and protective service to the young is nowhere more needed than against the alluring invitations along the rock-strewn road of drink. Such service is two-fold: instructional and environmental.

Early instruction in the nature and effects of alcohol should help. In this science-minded age it is important to know "why" alcohol, rather than apples, for instance, is the root of great evil. But that does not suffice. There must also be a development of character strong enough to keep conduct congruous with the widely known facts. Pledge-signing has value. If some protest it as commitment to form without spirit, a life by rule, Macaulay may remind them that even as a set of stays may support a feeble body until it can develop power to stand in its own strength, so a set of rigid principles may support a wavering will in the presence of temptation.

Beyond this, from the middle teens through the twenties there is peculiar need for wholesome social and recreational outlet. The reasons for drinking reported by Dr. Paul Studenski (New York University) in his study of drinking conditions among youth are:

1. Other people drink.
2. It makes us feel gayer and more entertaining.
3. It drowns trouble.

To these other investigators add a fourth:

4. We've no place to go but the tavern.

It is no answer to remark how sad a commentary on American youth that it should need alcohol to feel gay and entertaining, or how pathetic that it is so maladjusted to life that already its troubles are too great to be met with sober courage. Nor does it suffice to remark how much sadder commentary on the generation which has reared them. Nor again is it enough to conclude that better than going to the

tavern is the novel experience of staying at home which Americans might enjoy should they try it.

The Church must begin with people where they are. If she is to cope with the social appeal of drink her young people must have a constructive, satisfying and quite occupying program of wholesome social activity.

The program can be simplest in rural communities. Farm youth have responsibilities and are less afflicted with the idea that they must be off and gone every night. Some small towns, during school vacations, present a crying need. There are others where, during the school term, school-sponsored extra-curricular activities so crowd the hours that the Church finds it a problem to claim the most meager allowance of time.

Difficulties are always with us. Surmounting them is only a part of the task of the Church.

II. Her Healing Ministry

The Church has not only her duty to the young that they be upheld; she has also her obligation to lift those already fallen into the most dejected of heaps. She is concerned not only with preventing lives from dashing against the rocks; but is quite as anxious to salvage what she can from wrecks already occurred. It is no substitute for other safe-guards required of individual or society but it is scientifically substantiated that in "curing" the drinker no factor is more powerful than a really profound religious conviction. In his reclamation this healing ministry has great place.

But the Church must know that a policy which flaunts temptation through a rampant traffic, sanctioned by government for some pieces of silver, is itself in need of corrective attention. She must know that the correction can come only through an aroused and organized citizenry. She must be

anxious that citizens within the Church be in the vanguard of such movement. She must create the conviction that Christian citizens—because they are Christian—may be expected to be more sensitive to the evil, more meticulous in their personal example, more responsive to the call for civic action and more daring in demanding it.

III. Her Prophetic Mission

From the days of those ancient preachers, the Hebrew Prophets, the pulpit, be it by a Judean wayside or in a modern temple, has been a proper and powerful vantage point from which to cry out against national as well as personal sin. Across the centuries, one can all but hear those old men of God—some of them not so old either—thundering their warnings, shouting stern chastisements with arms uplifted and with eyes and hearts alike aflame, or again, wooing in high forms of poetic excellence. Always they are pioneers. Never are they pleading for the status quo. Ever and anon they are arrayed against the hypocritical, form-serving religionist. They are forever calling the people to **RIGHTEOUSNESS**,—a righteousness as much the obligation of the king as the subject, of the rich as the poor, but also of the poor as the rich, and quite as much that of the nation as the individual. They are as unimpressed by mere pomp and rank of kingship as a Milton or a Cromwell. They command rulers and people alike to bow before their Maker as in His Living Presence.

Such is the ancient heritage of the pulpit. If today it abdicates its prophetic function where it should impinge upon alcohol, it is from lack of neither need of it nor its propriety. Troubles may beset the fulfillment of this mission. It is never easy to “chasten a flagrant and wayward state,

correct its perversity, and bring it back to the authority of the Most High." But "this the Prophet of Israel did."

Taking her inspiration first from these ancient seers the Church will find it immeasurably heightened in Jesus who sent out men who upset the world. His is no message for the easy day when all is well and no wrong looms for our attack. He knew that such day would never be until His Kingdom had come in All Its Fullness. He sought disciples who could come through the "fiery trials," disciples who were not afraid of the stigma of the World, who could take its taunts if thereby they might light the way. He pressed down upon the obscure fisherman and the tax-gatherer that they were to be different, a thing apart, of peculiar responsibility, a living example, in the world but not of it. He sought followers who could meet the crisis hours not with faith aflicker but with faith aflame.

Yet how simple His appeal. "Ye are the salt of the earth." Salt is good. He was speaking of one of the commonest things of life and one of the most necessary. Everyone could understand when He spoke of salt. Everyone could feel the high power of the truth He was teaching. Salt is the world's greatest preserver, or shall we say, its great conserver of life. Not only does it add tang and piquancy; withdraw it entirely and neither man nor beast can live.

With salt abounding, a bag of it purchasable for a few cents, we take it for granted. But Jesus was talking to Oriental peasants to whom bread and salt could mean sustenance, men who would have understood perfectly the depth of meaning in the Indian resistance to the salt tax.

Jesus was looking for disciples who could be such a saving element in the world. To such He could entrust His Kingdom on Earth. When the Church is as "salt", think

you her members will be despoiling hours of opportunity with questions like these:

Can not I drink and be a Christian?

Why should I not profit by the liquor trade? If I don't someone else will.

Why should I espouse an unpopular civic issue?

Will such disciples be deluded into believing that consumption of liquor is reduced by increasing facilities for securing it? Or again, will they gullibly accept the suggestion that the government can best encourage temperance by licensing an army of liquor vendors?

Rather they will flame again with the old prophetic vision. From the watch-towers they will be calling the nation to repentance. They will go through society like leaven through the meal. They will not lack for means or methods. In the hour of their awakening, the liquor problem will be given a swifter ride to oblivion than its traffickers have ever dreamed of giving to whatsoever things are true, honest, pure, lovely and of good report.

It is probably not too much to say that the solution of the problem will come whenever the Church really yearns for it. When shall it be?

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT

Round Table Discussion of the work of your local church and the Brotherhood with which it is affiliated in meeting the alcohol problem.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the function of the Church in relation to the alcohol problem?
2. What Biblical precedents do you find for the Church's outcry against national as well as personal sin?
3. Could other factors take precedence over the Church in awakening the nation to the menace of drink? What would be the consequences?

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The teacher of an ambitious class will find a wealth of material for assignment in recognized periodicals 1919-1934, all of which may be easily traced in *Reader's Guide*.

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